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The Western Hemisphere

*From Parley's The First Book of History
for Children and Youth. (1833)*





A HISTORY OF AMERICAN EDUCATION



A History of

H O L T, R I N E H A R T A N D W I N S T O N

New York



American Education

S T U A R T G. N O B L E

Professor of Education, Emeritus, Tulane University

R E V I S E D E D I T I O N

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Preface to the Second Edition

More than a dozen years have passed since this book appeared in the first edition. In the normal course of change a period of this length might be considered long enough to justify a new edition of any historical work. But, in the present instance, these have been cataclysmic years. World-shaking events have followed one another in rapid succession. In these years an earth-girdling war has been waged, whole populations have been transplanted, and remote peoples who never tasted personal liberty have sensed it for the first time. Man's mastery of matter has transcended the imagination of any previous generation. Repercussions of revolutions abroad and social and economic upheavals at home have tried the American spirit as it has never been tried before. There are reasons aplenty for an amendment to *A History of American Education*. It is the purpose of this revision to register the impact of the new forces upon American ways of living, thought processes, and school procedures.

The organization of the text has been modified by bracketing the chapters belonging to the several periods into separate units, as "Colonial Beginnings," "The Later Colonial Period," and so forth. This innovation should enable the reader better to keep his bearings in time.

The results of recent research have been noted and significant new titles have been added to the bibliographies of the earlier chapters as well as the later ones.

The economic and cultural data for the periods since the Civil War have been greatly elaborated. Chapter Fourteen has been substantially rewritten and reorganized, and now incorporates much new material.

Preface to the Second Edition

Chapter Seventeen, "Life in the Twentieth Century," a digest and appraisal of cultural progress since 1900, has been inserted.

Recent changes in educational theory, the curriculum, and school procedures have been noted in Chapters Eighteen, Nineteen, and Twenty. Four significant excerpts have been inserted in "A Pageant of American Schools."

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the recent publications he has used and to the publishing houses that have made them possible.

STUART G. NOBLE

*775 Arlington St.
Jackson, Mississippi
November, 1953*

Preface to the First Edition

Some years ago, a famous scholar, scion of the well-known New England family, published his autobiography under the title, *The Education of Henry Adams*. In this volume, Mr. Adams construed the term *education* to include the lifelong influence of places and persons, as well as the instruction of schools and universities, upon his personality. It is in somewhat the same sense that the present author thinks of education as he uses the term in the title of this book. Education is here interpreted to be a process of social and individual development, conditioned by environmental forces both within and without the schools.

A History of American Education is a text in the history of education in the United States of the type commonly used for the training of teachers in colleges and universities. It differs from similar books in that it gives greater emphasis to environmental influences such as the frontier, changing social and economic conditions, and philosophical points of view represented in religion, the Enlightenment, the romantic movement, and modern realism. It contains also much fresh material relating to the evolution of the curriculum. It will be observed that stress is laid on the institutional practices which the American people have employed in their efforts to carry forward the cultural heritage and, at the same time, to adjust themselves to a changing environment. The effect of education upon their temper and character is noted from time to time.

This is an interpretative volume rather than a compendium. The author has undertaken to integrate data and give meaning to events.

Preface to the First Edition

Avowedly, he tells his own story, which, he admits, may be a different version from that told by other interpreters. The chronological sequence has not been rigidly adhered to. In order, however, that the reader may keep his bearings in time, the period covered by each chapter is indicated by approximate dates placed in parenthesis under the heading.

The reader is advised to regard the chapters dealing with environmental factors as the background of the chapters dealing with the educational institutions of corresponding periods. Thus, Chapter I furnished the setting for Chapter II, and Chapter III, the setting for Chapter IV; while Chapter VII served as background for the four chapters immediately following, and Chapter XIV, as background for the remaining chapters of the book. If the reader desires an uninterrupted account of environmental changes, let him regard the background chapters as a unit and read them consecutively. In the same way, if he so desires, he may group together the chapters relating to institutional development or those relating to the curriculum.

The author's conception of the volume, as a whole, has developed gradually over the period of a dozen years in which he has taught the history of American Education in Tulane University and in the summer schools of other universities. In the development of the idea he has obviously been influenced by many books and persons. He is obligated to Ellwood P. Cubberley, Edgar W. Knight, and other pioneers in this field for pointing the way in the history of the schools. He wishes to thank Mrs. Pansy Knoll Jeneson, formerly assistant in Education in Sophie Newcomb College, for a valuable contribution of data relating to the history of the curriculum. He tenders his thanks also to Professor Thomas Woody of the University of Pennsylvania for a critical examination of the manuscript; to Professor James Mulhern of the same institution for permission to use illustrations and brief passages from his *History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*; and to his sister, Mrs. Kate Noble Acosta, for her constant encouragement.

He wishes, finally, to mention his obligation to the publishers who have granted him permission to use illustrations and excerpts from their publications.

S. G. N.

New Orleans, Louisiana
September, 1938

Introduction

According to the late John Dewey, the foremost American educational theorist, education is growth, a lifelong process, representing the response of the individual to all the physical and cultural factors of his environment. This definition presupposes a living organism endowed with certain natural propensities for development. It postulates a period of education coextensive with the span of human life. Finally, it recognizes as media of education, along with schools and studies, the manifold forces of the out-of-school environment. Thus, says Dewey, the individual grows, or becomes educated, as he accommodates himself to the conditions of life.

In this broad sense of the word the term *education* is construed for use in this book. The theme of the volume is the education of the American people. It is an account of the education of a nation. As such it does not differ vastly from the life story of one person, for, as John W. Draper declares in the preface to his monumental work, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (1876), "The life of an individual is a miniature of the life of a nation." It is necessary, however, to apply Dewey's conception of the education of an individual to the growing social organism which is America.

This is not difficult to achieve, for an intriguing parallel, which runs throughout, looms up at the first attempt at comparison. In each case, education involves capacity for improvement, as represented in native endowment. This is an obvious implication in Dewey's theory of the individual's education. When applied to the education of the

Introduction

American people, it leads to inquiry as to the racial strains represented in the population at different times; the social levels from which the earlier settlers came; the matter of selectivity in the immigration of later times; the assimilation of the foreign-born; and the movement of the native population within the boundaries of our own country. In fact, the education of the nation cannot be conceived apart from the educability of the people. The factor of population and racial heredity will therefore claim attention repeatedly throughout this book.

In group life generally social heredity supplements racial heredity. Each generation finds it possible to transmit to the next not only its native capacity but also, in some measure, its store of experience in the form of folkways, knowledge, ideals, beliefs, and prejudices. This capacity of the race to preserve experience and pass it along is the first essential of social stability. The history of American education must therefore concern itself with the cultural heritage of the people who have from time to time come to make their homes here.

But the cultural heritage received from their European ancestors was only the starting point in the making of the American people. They have become, individually and collectively, the kind of people that we find them today by virtue of their response to the environment in which they have been cast. Their responsiveness has, of course, been conditioned by racial heredity, which has already been mentioned. Their environment has varied from time to time and from place to place, as succeeding pages in this book will reveal.

On the surface, the environment presents a moving picture of a remote frontier community, struggling for existence while cherishing the mores of seventeenth-century Europe—a picture which gradually changes with the increase of population, the economic prosperity of the colonial farmers and fishermen, the development of foreign and domestic commerce, the retreat of the frontier, the Western expansion in the national period, the extension of lines of communication, the development of capitalism, and the rise of industry. These are but its external aspects. Interfusing it throughout, the spiritual atmosphere has been no less significant. Religious, intellectual, and aesthetic interests, thought movements, and philosophies have made this atmosphere. Specifically, the Reformation, the rise of scientific inquiry, the move-

ment toward democracy, may be mentioned as determining factors in this spiritual environment.

If one would understand the molding of the American mind one must consider the play of these elemental forces upon it from the beginning. It is germane to the purpose of this book to examine and define them and to evaluate their influence as they are passed in review before the reader.

It has been customary in the past to associate education almost exclusively with schools and studies and with the period of formal instruction which takes place in youth. This narrow conception ignores the powerful but informal and incidental influences of environment which take place throughout the life of the individual and throughout the history of the whole people. The American society may be said to have passed through the period of infancy and to have attained maturity. Its education, however, is not complete, nor will it be, so long as the nation retains the vitality to respond effectively to its environment.

What has been said should not be construed to the disparagement of formal education. On the contrary, it is freely conceded that the history of education has been, and will continue to be, largely the history of its institutions. Society has long recognized its stake in the educative process: it has selected materials and organized studies, it has developed a craft of teaching, and it has set up schools and other agencies for instruction. Formal procedures have doubly served the ends of society. Initiated to preserve the experience of one generation, they became a part of the social heritage of the next. Thus, at one and the same time, they have contributed to environment and have facilitated the response to it. In view of the important part which institutions of learning have played in the education of the American people, this book will elaborate the account relating to them.

The early settlers in this country owed little to the schools for education. Studies were brief and schools were few. Family life and community furnished the wealth of folklore; the church, moral and religious training; the handicrafts, preparation for the vocations; and the wilderness, the stern discipline of the frontier. With the advance of civilization, each of these agencies has, step by step, surrendered its educative functions to the schools. From colonial times to the present

Introduction

the trend has been in the direction of institutionalizing education to an ever-increasing extent. This may be observed as vocational training, the acquisition of the social accomplishments, training for citizenship, the education of women, and many other educative functions have successively become the objectives of instruction in schools. The process of institutionalization, overcoming all impediments, has moved steadily forward.¹ It has met its most vigorous opposition in our own day with the protest of the progressive idealists. The history of the whole movement furnishes the thread of the narrative in this book.

¹ The terms, *institutionalization* and *institutionalism*, as used repeatedly in this book, are applied in a narrow sense to the forms and processes of education taking place specifically in schools, colleges, and other institutions of learning, in contrast with that education which takes place outside the schools.

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Colonial Beginnings

1607-1700



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CHAPTER ONE

The Heritage of English Culture

THE RACIAL FIBER OF THE COLONISTS

The settlers of the thirteen original colonies were chiefly English-born and English-bred. There was a slight admixture of Swedes, Dutch, Germans, and French in the early population, but these elements, though significant locally, were not important in molding the life and character of the typical colonial community.¹ The English outnumbered all other nationalities represented and in time placed an English stamp upon the culture of the period: the English language predominated, English customs and traditions came to prevail, and English ideas of religion, government, science, and education, when transplanted, took root and grew.

Colonial America derived from England not merely its blood and sinews but also a cultural heritage of vast importance. From this source came the experience of past ages in the form of beliefs, ideals, superstitions, and habits of living, all firmly fixed in the folkways of the English people. It is true that the early settlers came from all parts of England, rural and urban, that they represented different strata of society, that they held different religious beliefs, and that they belonged to both

¹ John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1907, pp. 24-26; Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, I, 124.

the ignorant and learned classes. These significant differences are of minor importance when balanced against the fact that all, or nearly all, were children of a common tradition. The mother country, during the seventeenth century, planted on this side of the Atlantic the seeds of an Anglo-Saxon civilization. To this, the French contributed important elements in the eighteenth century, and the Germans added much in later years. Until after the opening of the present century America did little except appropriate, conserve, and improve upon the heritage which came, and has continued to come, from across the seas.²

It is desirable at the beginning of this study to inquire concerning the extent and nature of the endowment America received from England. Very properly the student may ask: Of what did the heritage originally consist? How much of it was available to the colonists of the seventeenth century? What factors interfered with its transmission to the Western world? Since the answers to these questions are vital in the study of the history of education, a large part of this chapter and a considerable space in succeeding chapters will be devoted to a discussion of them.

About fifty years ago, President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University defined education as a "gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race with a view of realizing one's own potentialities."³ He thought of the "spiritual possessions of the race" as a five-fold inheritance, embracing the literary, the scientific, the aesthetic, the institutional, and the religious elements. Dr. Butler's long-standing analysis seems to be adequate as an outline for the present study of the transplantation of culture from England to America—except that something needs to be said about the industrial inheritance which he did not, at that time, mention. In the pages immediately following, England's cultural legacy to America will be examined under the six headings just suggested. This chapter will be concerned with the transplantation of the literary, scientific, institutional, aesthetic, industrial, and religious factors, particularly in the seventeenth century.

² Compare Allan Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travelers*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929, p. 3.

³ Nicholas Murray Butler, *The Meaning of Education*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1902, p. 25.

THE HERITAGE OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Of the factors which constitute America's heritage, doubtless the most important gift of the mother country was that of a common language. Fortunately, the confusion of Old-English dialects had been resolved and modern English had emerged before the settlement of the colonies was well under way. Long before, the printers had used Chaucer's Midland dialect as a standard, but it was not until the published works of Elizabethan authors and the Authorized Version or King James Bible appeared, that the language attained its modern form. When the colonists migrated to America, they came speaking the same language, and, whether settling in Maine or Georgia, they continued to speak it, except for minor localisms that later developed. By the time of the colonial era the essential language forms had become so definitely fixed that they were not disturbed even though the settlements were scattered and remote from the parental influence. Thus, England forged for the American colonies the bond of a common language without which a homogeneous culture would have been impossible.

England's heritage of literature, much of which was acquired during the late sixteenth, the seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, has been a priceless legacy to American culture. When the earlier emigrants left England, Shakespeare had already achieved supremacy as a dramatist; Ben Jonson was still alive; Francis Bacon was still wielding his powerful pen; and Milton and Bunyan were soon to offer their incomparable gifts to posterity. Before the close of the colonial period, Dryden and Pope had attained the ultimate in heroic verse; Richardson and Fielding had written the first novels; and Johnson, Swift, and Addison and Steele had established the standards for literary prose. England's progress in developing a national literature during this period has probably never been equaled in any period of similar length, before or since.

APPRECIATION OF LITERARY WORKS IN ENGLAND

When and to what extent did America come into this heritage? This query leads to another which must be answered first: To what extent did contemporary England appreciate its own literary output?

By inference only may we approximate the answers. To begin with, it is reasonable to assume that literacy was fairly general, though by no means universal, in seventeenth-century England. The various Protestant sects obligated their adherents to read the Bible for themselves. Moreover, the spirited religious controversies of the time, which were conducted through argumentative pamphlets and tracts, stimulated many to read in order to justify their faith. These motives quickened the masses to literacy. Numerous vernacular or "petty schools" sprang up to meet this growing demand for a reading knowledge of the English language. As for the aristocracy and upper middle classes, mere knowledge of the native tongue was not sufficient, and perhaps the majority of men and some of the women in this stratum of society acquired a mastery not only of English but of Latin.

For these reasons it is safe to conclude that a fairly large percentage of seventeenth-century England's population could read. But it does not follow logically that all readers appreciated equally well the great works of literature. Indeed, such evidence as we have points to the contrary. Puritan England had no use for Shakespeare on the stage or off, nor, for that matter, did it look with favor upon the drama or light literature in any form. The minds of the vast majority turned first to the stern duty of making a living, and, after that, to political and religious controversy. People read for information or instruction rather than pleasure. Not before the era of Johnson and Addison, many years later, did there develop a reading public of such dimensions as to create any considerable demand for books of literary quality. Only in the narrow circle of the elite were there men who had the time or disposition to read polite literature.

NEGLECT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN AMERICA

It is unlikely that the Englishmen who migrated to America during the seventeenth century, except in rare cases, cared to read the standard English authors, even if they knew anything at all about them. Conditions on this side of the Atlantic did not encourage the few who had literary interests before coming to pursue them, nor were conditions much more congenial before the middle of the eighteenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that seventeenth-century literature did

not reach America in any marked degree during the period under discussion. Indeed, this country did not enter into even partial possession of its literary heritage until the nineteenth century, when schools and colleges began generally to teach the "English classical authors."

This neglect was not due, as might be surmised, to the illiteracy of the colonists. While the population of the colonies was undoubtedly recruited, in the main, from the ranks of English society where illiteracy was most prevalent, a considerable portion of the immigrants were able to read and write. The tenets of Calvinism bound the early New England settlers to seek their souls' salvation in the vernacular Bible, and as early as 1642 we find a Massachusetts law compelling the towns to provide for the education of children. In the Middle and Southern colonies, illiteracy was by no means so prevalent as might be expected. Between 1641 and 1700, about 50 per cent of the men and 25 per cent of the women in fourteen Virginia counties were able to sign their names to public documents. The scanty evidence we have from Massachusetts for the same period indicates that the percentage of men who could meet this test was much higher. There were, it is true, many more illiterate women than illiterate men in the colonies before 1700, the number running as high as 75 per cent in certain communities.⁴ Indentured servants, who came in large numbers to the colonies, were not, in all cases, ignorant and depraved. Indeed, there were bond servants who served as schoolmasters in many wealthy families. These facts, taken together, tend to indicate that seventeenth-century America was to a fair degree literate.

SCARCITY OF LIBRARIES

Before attaching too great significance to this point, however, we should take due cognizance of frontier living conditions. The simple economic life of small farmers, mechanics, trappers, and fishermen placed no premium upon literacy. Book learning offered no substitute for industry and mother wit. Shelter, clothes, and daily bread were purchased at the price of unremitting manual labor. Each member of the

⁴ Thomas Woody, *The History of the Education of Women in the United States*, The Science Press, Lancaster, Penn., I, 159.

family, from the youngest to the oldest, had his part to do in earning his "board and keep." There was little time to read, even if one knew how, and only slight economic pressure for acquiring the art. What wonder, then, if the children of frontiersmen grew up innocent of books of any sort. Yet there are instances of men who took a scholarly, if not an aesthetic, interest in books. Many such men are numbered among the first generation of settlers in Massachusetts, where it is estimated that there was one university graduate or former student to every thirty families, a ratio perhaps as high as that of any comparable English community of that day.⁵

The library which John Harvard willed to the college which bears his name contained two hundred and sixty volumes. Several New Englanders owned collections which may be considered large for the time, that of John Winthrop, Jr., numbering over a thousand volumes. In Virginia some of the planters took a lively interest in reading and a few of them brought together fair-sized collections. More than a hundred persons living in lower Norfolk County, before 1700, are known to have possessed from one to several hundred volumes. These examples indicate that at least a small minority of the colonial population was accustomed to spending a part of its spare time in reading. It is fair to suppose, however, that the vast majority read little, if anything.

READING FOR INSTRUCTION, NOT PLEASURE

Shakespeare was virtually unknown in America before the middle of the eighteenth century. Milton was read by Cotton Mather and probably by a few other New England clergymen, but Spenser was unheard of. Religion, politics, and nature study were the dominant interests of the times, as indicated by the titles of books referred to in seventeenth-century archives. Readers in other colonies, as well as in Puritan Massachusetts, chose to edify themselves with the sermons and religious discourses of distinguished clergymen whose names are now all but forgotten. Next to religious literature, there was a sporadic interest in law, history, and works of travel, but close contact with the rugged realities

⁵ Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature (1607-1676)*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1878, I, 80-114.

of life fostered chiefly a taste for informative books of a quasi-scientific character. But the colonists left untouched the superb imaginative offerings of contemporary Englishmen, and America failed to enter immediately into its literary heritage.

THE FINDINGS OF SCIENCE IN AMERICA

While the American colonists were conquering the wilderness of the Atlantic seaboard, pioneer scholars in Europe were laying the foundations of modern science. Isaac Newton (1642–1727) was formulating the law of universal gravitation; Robert Boyle (1627–1691) was setting forth the laws that govern the pressure of gases; William Harvey (1578–1657) was discovering the circulation of the blood; and, on the Continent, Napier, Descartes, and Leibnitz were devising new mathematical aids for the study of natural phenomena. The combined labors of these men and their contemporaries helped to raise the study of science above the level of scholastic speculation and medieval superstition. A prominent historian has recently appraised the scientific advance of the seventeenth century in the following words: "Not only did the scientific achievement of that period surpass all that previously had been done in the whole life of man upon earth, but these achievements now first began to teach men the power of the new instrument both in mastering and understanding all things."⁶ The scientific achievements of the seventeenth-century pioneers in England and in Continental Europe made possible the remarkable progress of applied science in our own times.

As in the case of its literary legacy, America was slow in entering into its scientific inheritance. This was due in part to conditions unfavorable to the study of science on the American frontier and in part to England's inability to render a practical interpretation of the rare services of her great minds. The newer achievements in science were thus allowed to pass unnoticed until toward the middle of the eighteenth century. We shall observe the retarded awakening of this interest in Chapter Three.

⁶ Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1930, I, 144.

SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION

The science which the colonists knew was not the science of the new era but the science of ancient and medieval times with all its superstitious absurdities. There was much interest in astronomy, but this was not the astronomy of Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton; it was that of the ancients which set forth the theory of a round earth about which the sun, moon, and planets revolved. Associated with this theory was a profound and general belief in astrology. Many people, including conservative scholars, believed that human affairs were determined by movements of the heavenly bodies. There was almost universal belief in the reading of horoscopes. Planting, cutting brush, gathering fruit, and other farm activities were thought to be influenced by the several phases of the moon. Comets were regarded as signs of calamity and rainbows as signs of good luck.

The unseen world was peopled with devils, good angels, ghosts, fairies, and witches.⁷ In England, the most brilliant men of the time, including Bacon and Thomas Browne, believed in spirits. Cotton Mather, the distinguished New England clergyman, wrote a book on witchcraft which probably led to the hysterical orgy of persecution at Salem in 1692 when twenty persons, thought to be witches, were put to death. Among the masses the belief in spirits was general.

MEDICINE, "PHYSICK," AND QUACKERY

There was much interest then, as always, in the practice of medicine, or "physick" as it was called, but the few trained practitioners were hardly better, from the modern point of view, than the many who were untutored. The Massachusetts Bay Company sent over to Massachusetts, about 1630, one Lambert Wilson, "Chirurgion," to practice his cures upon the settlers and neighboring Indians and, at the same time, to "instruct in his art one or more youths" to be named by Captain Endicott and the Council.⁸ If anything substantially useful came of this venture, the records fail to show it, but there were in all the colonies

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Chap. XIV.

⁸ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series 2, I, 47.

numerous barbers, surgeons, clergymen, and scholars of small learning and less wit who practiced the quackery then known as "physick." Nearly every family library contained a book on the subject. Giles Firmin, who owned the only skeleton in Massachusetts, is said to have lectured or "read upon" it at Harvard about 1650. On Virginia plantations, women familiarized themselves with cures and remedies which they administered to members of their households.

The lore of medicine consisted of a hodgepodge of ancient remedies handed down from such ancient authorities as Hippocrates and Galen, a knowledge of the more or less efficacious properties of certain simples, and a generous mixture of superstitious notions. Leading scholars thought that Nature marked plants with "signatures" whereby man might learn which were good as medicine. The shape of the kidney bean was thought to suggest its value in the treatment of kidney diseases. In like manner, the bark of the pine tree was thought to be good for the skin, and the pit of the Carolina haw, good for "the stone, gravel, and dropsy." With even less reason, perhaps, many absurd and revolting concoctions were prepared from pulverized butterflies, crickets, grasshoppers, bedbugs and earwigs.

The learned as well as the ignorant clung tenaciously to tradition. The bleeding of patients who might be suffering from any conceivable ailment was thought to bring relief by letting off surplus black bile, phlegm, or other "humors" of the body. The theory of circulation of the blood, which Harvey propounded as early as 1628, was still being questioned at Harvard College in 1699, and conscientious objectors vigorously contested the innovation of vaccination for smallpox in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It was not until well toward the close of the eighteenth century that chemistry came to be studied in connection with medicine.

INTEREST IN BOTANY

A practical interest in the medicinal properties of plants stimulated the natural curiosity of a new people in a strange land and led to a widespread, if not profound, study of botany. This subject engaged the attention of the colonists to a greater extent, perhaps, than did any other science. Learned travelers who came to collect specimens and

make observations imparted their enthusiasm to native sons. William Wood visited New England in 1634 and published his observations a little later. John Josselyn came over in 1638, and again in 1663. The interest, thus aroused, was taking a genuinely scientific turn by the end of the century.

In concluding this topic, it may be said that America was unprepared to interpret or apply the achievements of the British scientists of the period. Medieval explanations of scientific phenomena, sanctioned by a conservative clergy and having little or no foundation in fact, were preferred to solutions offered by the newer sciences.

THE ARTISTIC HERITAGE

In the seventeenth century, England had little to offer America as a heritage in art. The upsurge of interest in the graphic arts which accompanied the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy, Holland, and Spain had failed to reach England. There had been a sporadic interest in portrait painting, chiefly influenced by the Dutch school, during the reign of Elizabeth, but this was not sufficient to stimulate the effort of English artists. Nor was the interest in music widespread, although the diffusion of madrigals, hymns, folk songs, and dance music in Elizabethan times was extensive.

On the American frontier truth and goodness came before beauty. Making a living was a first consideration, and in the consciousness of the early settlers the stark reality of things directly useful stood out sharply in the foreground. Under such circumstances, one could hardly expect the fine arts to thrive. And so, if we except the pardonable pride in craftsmanship which a cabinetmaker or weaver might here and there exhibit, there is no evidence that the seventeenth-century colonists concerned themselves seriously with art.

As for music, Quakers and New England Puritans long continued to frown upon the use of instruments in the church service. The colonists generally were somewhat more friendly to recreational music, but the concern for practical affairs checked both appreciation and creative effort.⁹

⁹ Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1934, Chap. VII, also pp. 246-250.

THE LEGACY OF SOCIAL AND CIVIC INSTITUTIONS

Back of the generation from which the colonists sprang lay five centuries of community life which had been molded into law and custom. The monogamic family, the home, and the sacrament of marriage had come to be solemnly acknowledged. The right to own private property, the right to enter into contracts, and the right to trial by jury had long been established; the writ of habeas corpus, which Blackstone called the most celebrated in English law, may have antedated Magna Carta; representative government was already in vogue in England; and on both sides of the Atlantic men were vigorously striving for freedom of speech. Personal behavior was subject to the discipline of both church and state, but, with the sanction of tradition, the sturdy Englishman stoutly maintained his right to liberty under hereditary institutions.

The conditions of community life were different in America. The provisions of common law, while available, were too complicated and technical for general application in frontier society and were not required for a hundred years. A vast fund of experience in the administration of local government, however, served the colonists well even in the earliest times, and in a comparatively short time it was possible for them to set up governments of their own. It is noteworthy that the new governments, in most cases, guaranteed the liberties to which Englishmen were accustomed. Edmund Burke in his *Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies*, delivered in Parliament in 1775, pointed out the love of liberty as one of the distinctive traits in the "temper and character" of the American people. This love of liberty he traced to a remote origin in early English history.

The seeds of American individualism came from England. Thomas Hooker, Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, Nathaniel Bacon, and numerous dissenters, of whom the Quakers were chief, voiced the individual's right to freedom of expression on these shores. The frontier invited the nonconformist to move elsewhere if the restrictions of organized society proved irksome, but the conditions of social life in the early settlements did not generally favor individual freedom. The settlers brought from England also a deep-rooted allegiance to an aristocratic organization of society. Local government and community life

gave evidence of an aristocratic leaning from the beginning. Gov. John Winthrop declared that democracy was the "meanest & worst of all formes of Governm't."¹⁰ When master craftsmen in Massachusetts acquired wealth and aspired to the social distinctions that went with it, the General Court promptly reduced their wages so as to keep them in their station.

THE COLONIAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Most of the colonies inherited the English caste system which was soon adjusted to meet the needs of the new country. In New England there developed five classes: (1) clergymen, the gentry and wealthy citizens; (2) skilled artisans; (3) unskilled laborers; (4) indentured servants; and (5) slaves. In the South, the social classes included wealthy planters, poor whites, indentured servants, and slaves. Caste distinctions carried social privileges. For instance, in Puritanical New England only the members of the upper class could adorn their clothing with lace, gold, and silver thread, or ornaments of these metals. Even pews in the church were assigned according to rank, and Yale and Harvard arranged the names of students in the catalogues according to the social position of their families. Undemocratic as the caste system certainly was, it seemed to commend itself to the colonists, for it continued in vogue until long after Revolutionary times. In American practice, however, there was the saving grace that a man might acquire wealth and rise in rank.

MANNERS AND BEHAVIOR

Something needs to be said in this connection concerning the heritage of English manners. For over a century prior to the era of colonization, there was evident in England a pronounced interest in the improvement of manners. The publication of numerous books dealing with etiquette and the training of children in polite behavior attest this interest. *The Booke of Curtasye* (1460) was perhaps the earliest of

¹⁰ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, Vol. I, *The Colonial Mind (1620-1800)*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1927, p. 47.

these, and *The Schoole of Vertue* (1557) and the *Babees Book* (1577) were of the same general character. Other such books appeared later. In many English families the rules of behavior taught children followed a tradition that could be traced to sixteenth-century treatises on etiquette. While there is but scanty evidence that books of this type reached America, considering their vogue it seems likely that many middle-class Englishmen who later migrated to America must have read them and practiced their precepts. Thus, Americans sought to remain conventional Englishmen despite the crudities of frontier life.

THE INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

In agriculture, transportation, and manufacturing the colonists pursued the methods to which they had been accustomed in the mother country. Agriculture in England had not, at this date, advanced beyond the primitive practices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. An American writer summarizes Anglo-Saxon farming conditions as follows:

Agricultural implements were still comparatively simple, varieties of roots and grasses were few, the science of fertilization was unknown, breeds of animals were inferior, rotation of crops was hardly begun, and with the exception of wool, and some livestock which could be driven to a distant market, markets were narrowly local. Anything like modern agricultural societies and papers, for the social study of agricultural methods and the general distribution of the best extant knowledge of soils, seeds, breeds of animals and tillage, was unknown.¹¹

This statement is likewise valid for seventeenth-century America, except that farmers here met with greater obstacles in their effort to earn a living from the soil. Trees had to be felled, brush cleared, and new ground broken before the process of tillage could properly begin. These difficulties had to be overcome with rudely fashioned axes, hoes, and mattocks. Cumbersome plows, such as were then used, sometimes required

¹¹ Henry W. Thurston, *Economics and Industrial History for Secondary Schools*, Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago, 1899, p. 92.

two men and half a dozen oxen to move them.¹² There was another difficulty: new crops such as maize, tobacco, potatoes, rice, and cotton, peculiarly adapted to the soil, called for types of cultivation unfamiliar to Englishmen. But in most respects, the status of farming was the same as that in the old country.

As for transportation, small boats operating on the numerous rivers, bays, and inlets furnished the chief medium. It is significant that population followed the water courses, and, by the end of the seventeenth century, had scarcely reached the mountain ranges, except in New England, western New York, and Pennsylvania. Roads were hardly more than trails through the wilderness and most travel was on horseback. The ponderous vehicles of the time which mired deep in mud in bad weather were of little use. For these reasons, boats were used for transportation wherever possible. Seagoing vessels entered the deeper rivers and unloaded their cargoes at plantation wharves; rowboats conveyed produce up the shallow creeks and water courses. Natural facilities for transportation determined not only the spread of population, but the economic status of the people. In New England, where interest in maritime enterprises early assumed importance, there developed a considerable demand for mariners and craftsmen skilled in the art of building boats and ships. Here the traditional knowledge of English seafaring folk stood the colonists in good stead.

THE DOMESTIC SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY

The domestic system of industry was prevalent in contemporary England. The manufacture of cloth, the most important article of trade, was conducted on a piecework basis. The clothier distributed materials to artisans living in the town and neighboring country, who combed, carded, spun, or wove them, according to contract, and returned the product to the owner. Other articles were manufactured in the same way. In towns the work was sometimes done in small shops, but in the country more often in the homes of the workers. Rural laborers were enabled to engage in farming and, during their spare time, work at a

¹² Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, pp. 38, 58.

trade. Thus among the laboring classes knowledge of some trade, along with farming, was fairly general.

From a modern point of view the domestic system has little to recommend it, but it worked to the advantage of the colonists. Farming, of course, furnished the chief means of subsistence, but as the products of the farm were not always marketable, the family had to consider means for supplying wants which the soil did not directly afford. Here trade came to the aid of the farmer and his family and made it possible for him to sell the surplus of articles manufactured at home for his own use or exchange them for products which he could not himself provide. The self-sufficiency of the home, whether on a small farm in the North and East or on a large plantation in the South, was made possible only by simple household manufacture. Likewise, the self-sufficiency of the community, a consideration of vast economic and social significance in settlements remotely located, was made possible through exchange of tool-made articles.

The domestic system furnished a convenient means for transmitting to America England's industrial inheritance—all the knowledge and skill in the use of tools English tradesmen had achieved in the preceding centuries. The general excellence of the products of handwork for the period bears testimony to the richness of this achievement. The terms of apprenticeship in the trades transmitted the knowledge from generation to generation and insured its successful transplantation in America. Together with technical skill this country also inherited a vast fund of experience in the control of industry both by trade guilds and civil statute. It is interesting to note that regulations determining the qualities of materials and the degree of expertness that should enter into a workmanlike job were among those prescribed. Subsequent history reveals that colonial America was not slow to appropriate its industrial inheritance.

THE RELIGIOUS INHERITANCE

When Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church, he set up the Church of England, vesting authority in his own bishops. Few changes were made in church observances. This proved unsatisfactory to certain Protestants who wished for more thoroughgoing reforms. The

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Puritans, for example, maintained their allegiance to the Established Church but sought to *purify* it of “popish” practices. Others, called Separatists, following creeds of their own, split entirely from the Church of England. Thus, there developed a number of religious sects during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The conflict of opinions created a furor of controversy which lasted for a hundred years or more.

The religious interest dominated seventeenth-century England. It permeated every fiber of private and social life; it lent color to literature; it tintured music and art; it controlled the trend of political events; it furnished the motive for education and determined the course of instruction offered in the schools. All classes of society, from nobility to yeoman and tradesman, shared this interest in religion.

In the general eagerness for insight and inspiration “England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible.”¹³ Protestant scholars turned for light to the original sources of the Scriptures in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues. Among the masses who could read English only, thousands left untouched the rich store of vernacular literature so lately bequeathed them by the Elizabethans and pondered every available translation of the Bible. Other thousands who could not read at all crowded about Bonner’s Bibles in the nave of St. Paul’s to hear the Scriptures read. No other single influence, during this century, so shaped English thought and conduct as did this book.

PURITANISM

From an atmosphere charged with religious enthusiasm and from schools that owed their existence largely to the desire of men to know the Bible better, seventeenth-century colonists migrated to America. Here, not only in New England but in all the other colonies as well, they undertook to perpetuate the religious ideals and traditions of the mother country. Throughout the century they labored to further the ends of their respective Protestant sects.

In view of the strong bearing of religious doctrine upon school practices in these days, it is in order to consider more particularly the

¹³ John R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1892, pp. 460–464.

ideals and beliefs of the more important groups of immigrants. To one interested in the transplantation of culture, the Puritan group was by far the most important. The Puritan Church was essentially medieval in character. The authority of Calvin had been substituted for that of the pope. The early Protestant belief that every person should read the Bible and interpret it to his own satisfaction came to mean that everyone should read the Bible and accept the Calvinistic interpretation. According to the same doctrine, the state was regarded as the handmaid of the church, designed specifically to promote its interests and execute its will. The authority of the state in colonial Massachusetts, where theory was translated into practice, enforced the rigid discipline of the church, meting out severe penalties for breaches of common morality and cruel and inhuman treatment for differences of opinion. The individual sank into insignificance in the face of the autocratic church and the aristocratic magistracy.

The gloomy doctrines of Puritanism cast a shadow over seventeenth-century New England. Superstitious notions, inherited from the Dark Ages, were mingled with Christian beliefs to such an extent that not even the enlightened leaders were able to make a distinction. A personal devil stalked abroad in the land, thwarting the devices of saints and dragging sinners down to perdition. Brooding clergymen turned into medieval mystics. The doctrines of total depravity, predestination, and election held out to the unregenerate masses a tenuous hope, at best, for a happy existence beyond the grave. Such environmental influences were destined to trace deep lines in the character of the people. The effect of Puritan theory and practice on education will be considered in the next chapter.

THE ANGLICAN INFLUENCE

The influence of the Anglican Church was less pronounced. Only in Virginia were the numbers of this denomination sufficiently large to affect the trend of social behavior. It is true that the Bishop of London undertook to enforce conformity to the liturgy, but the arm of the church was not long enough to reach the remote and scattered settlements. Parishes in Virginia were so large and so thinly populated that they were unable, in most cases, to support a properly trained minister,

even though his salary might be paid by local taxation. Regular services could not be maintained in the out-of-the-way churches; proper vestments and vessels for the sacrament were not everywhere available; and the aggregate wealth of the rural congregations could not support the schools and charitable enterprises so devoutly fostered by the churches of England. It must not be supposed, however, that frontier conditions rendered the influence of the parent church altogether ineffective. Virginians of the seventeenth century never ceased to be Anglicans in their profession of faith and in their general attitude toward life.¹⁴ How this affected education we shall learn presently.

THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Religious freedom, which was later to be written as an inalienable right into the Constitution of the United States, came as a gradual growth. In earlier days, conformity to the doctrine of the dominant sect was generally insisted upon. The Puritans of Massachusetts welcomed none to the colony except members of their own faith. Virginia, adhering to the Church of England, persecuted Puritans and Quakers alike. But as new colonies were established, this intolerant spirit began to give way. Roger Williams, who had been driven out of Massachusetts for nonconformity, invited members of all faiths to come to Rhode Island and enjoy freedom of worship. Maryland received both Catholics and Protestants and, under the Act of Toleration of 1649, permitted all who believed in Jesus Christ to worship as they pleased. And when William Penn set forth his plan of government for Pennsylvania, religious freedom became a definitely recognized principle.

The number of Catholics, Quakers, Anabaptists, and dissenters of other creeds who migrated to America during the seventeenth century was too small to have any immediate effect upon educational conditions, save, perhaps, in Pennsylvania. The ferment of dissent, however, was coming to be felt before the end of the century. The claims of minority groups to the right of freedom of worship was soon to win a hearing even in intolerant Puritan circles.

¹⁴ Wertenbaker, *op. cit.* Chap. V contains the account from which this paragraph has been abstracted.

RÉSUMÉ

It was a medieval civilization tempered by rationalism which England transplanted in America during the seventeenth century. In the colonial life of the period there is barely a suggestion of the Renaissance. Humanistic interests were soon swallowed up by the meticulous study of theology. The outburst of vernacular literature which came as a by-product of the classical revival in Elizabeth's reign did not reach the classes who migrated to America. The contagion of scientific interest touched only a few intellectuals, and the masses continued to be swayed by medieval superstitions. The traditional institutions of England were transplanted without care being taken to remove their objectionable features. The industrial order of the sixteenth century was set up in America. Of art there was none. The dominant interest of the time was religion, and in this field the authority of dogma reigned wherever a vigorous majority was able to enforce its dictates. In other words, the New World was not the modern world. Only in the trend of obscure tendencies, such as the desire for personal freedom, the yearning for religious liberty, and the necessity for creative effort, was there promise for the future. America was to wait until late in the eighteen hundreds before she came into the rich heritage of the seventeenth-century achievement.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Make a further study of the types of people who came to America during the seventeenth century. Have in mind the different social strata as well as the nationalities represented in the early population.
2. Do you think the Puritans were superior in intellect and culture to the people in other colonies? Why?
3. Secure a copy of some standard history of English literature. Observe the outstanding contributions to literature made during the seventeenth century. Why did American colonists fail to appreciate these contributions?
4. Outline the progress of science in Europe during this period.
5. Write a short essay on superstitions prevalent in colonial America.
6. Describe designs of early American furniture.
7. What were the essential characteristics of the domestic system of industry?
8. In what respects was community life in America similar to that of England? In what respects was it different?
9. Describe the typical New England Puritan.

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10. To what extent was religion a dominant factor in colonial life in colonies outside of New England?

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CHAPTER TWO

The Religious Motive in Education

I. SCHOOLS FOR THE CHURCH

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE IN EDUCATION

The environment of seventeenth-century America was favorable to the preservation of only those portions of the cultural heritage that had become ingrained in the customs and folklore of the people. The intense struggle for survival left little time for books or the contemplation of the brilliant intellectual achievements of contemporary Europe. Education came through three sources: the traditions of the family, the tutelage of the frontier, and the discipline of the church. The schools had little to do with any of these factors except the last. The religious interest, therefore, was the only one that was provided for by formal instruction.

The dominant motive for the establishment of seventeenth-century schools, both in Europe and in America, was the desire for religious instruction. Elementary schools provided the saving grace of literacy for the masses. Secondary and higher institutions trained clergymen and God-fearing leaders for the state. Although knowledge of the classics offered more in the way of practical advantage then than now, they served no vocational purpose aside from professional scholarship, and few people sought them for humanistic ends. Literacy, meaning the reading and writing of English, was esteemed as an evidence of civili-

zation, and improved one's social position in the community, but it did not greatly increase one's earning capacity.

All the early institutions of learning may be traced to an origin in religion. This was true in New England, where the church-state commonwealths established schools to preserve and propagate the Puritan faith; in New Netherlands, where the Dutch Calvinists established parish schools; in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, where the Quakers and Swedish Lutherans set up schools for their respective congregations; in Maryland, Florida, and New Mexico, where the Catholics founded schools; in Virginia, where the earliest attempts at education were undertaken; and in South Carolina, after the turn of the century, where the Church of England inaugurated a system of "free" schools. All these efforts were avowedly in the interest of religion. In the absence of this purpose, the cause of education would most certainly have languished.

Petty schools, dame schools, Latin schools, and colleges were patterned after the middle-class schools of old England, where the function of teaching was narrowly conceived as instruction in and for religion. Such institutions assumed no responsibility for transmitting the foundations of science, secular literature, art, and social practices. Many years were to elapse before the scope of education was to be broadened to include these elements of culture. Succeeding chapters in this book will reveal how education has come to mean bringing the child into possession of his full social inheritance.

II. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

NARROW COURSE OF STUDY

In comparison with present-day elementary education, which runs the gamut of human interests from reading, language lessons, numbers, history, and geography to music, drawing, manual arts, and play, the scope of seventeenth-century education at this level was unbelievably narrow. It is not even correct to say that the field was limited to the three R's, for writing and arithmetic were not always included. The Massachusetts Law of 1642 and the Connecticut Law of 1650 specified merely that the youngsters be taught to "read and understand the prin-

ciples of religion and the Capitall Laws of this Country.” The Plymouth Colony Law of 1671 used practically the same language. These statutes indicate a concept of elementary education in its narrowest sense.

There is evidence, however, that the schools in some places also included writing and ciphering. In 1661, Evert Pietersen, schoolmaster in New Amsterdam, was authorized to teach all three subjects and to charge higher fees for instruction in writing and ciphering. The Com-



Bettmann Archive

A Colonial Hornbook

mittee of Trustees of the New Haven Hopkins Grammar School in 1684 ordered: “That noe Boyes be admitted into ye sd [Latin] School for ye learning of English Books, but such as have been before taught to spell ye letters well to begin to Read, thereby to perfect their right Spelling, & Reading, or to learne to write, & Cipher for numeracion, & addicion,

& no further." Enoch Flower, who opened the first school in Philadelphia, taught reading, writing, and casting accounts.

The Latin grammar schools of New England were supposed to take only pupils who, at entrance, offered preliminary training in English. However, so few parents had either time or ability to instruct their children at home and there were so few schools of lower grade in the small towns that the Latin masters were required, frequently against their will, to teach applicants for admission to read and spell in English. In some of the towns the Latin master was assisted by an usher who taught the beginners in a separate room built onto the main structure. Elementary instruction of this character was merely a short prefix to the Latin grammar course.

METHODS OF TEACHING BEGINNERS

Before the primer came into use, near the end of the century, the hornbook was the chief medium of instruction. This was a sheet of paper, two or three inches wide and three or four inches long, on which the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the benediction, and perhaps a brief religious admonition were printed or written. This sheet of paper was covered with a thin layer of transparent horn and both together were tacked onto a paddle-shaped piece of wood. The hornbook furnished a handy and practically indestructible text.

Charles Hoole, a seventeenth-century English schoolmaster, described its use in the quaint style of his day: "The usual way to begin a child when he is first brought to Schoole, is to teach him to know his letters in the Hornbook, where he is made to run over all the letters in the Alphabet or Christ-cross-row both forwards and backwards until he can tell any one of them which is pointed at, and that in English character."¹

The same author described the seventeenth-century method of teaching spelling as follows: "The Common way of teaching a childe to spell, is, after he know's the letters in the Alphabet, to initiate him in those few syllables, which consist of one vowell before a consonant, as

¹ Charles Hoole, *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*, C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, 1912, p. 33. Original published in London, 1660.

ab, eb, ib, ub, &c, or of one vowel after a consonant, as bo, fo, be, bi, ba, bu, &c in the Hornbook."

These methods Hoole condemned. "Dull children could scarce tell six of their letters at twelve month's end," he said, "and scarce one of ten, when they have gone thorow the book, to be able to spell a word that is not in it." The author recommended an improved method, but it is doubtful if any change was made at this time in either England or America.

After the hornbook had been mastered, the Psalter, the Bible, or the Catechism were used for teaching reading. It is probable that Edmund Coote's *The English School-Master*, published in England many years before, was well known to colonial teachers who had acquired their early training in that country. This little book of seventy-nine pages was supposed to contain the entire elementary course of study. On the title page Coote informed the prospective pupil that he "needeth to buy no other [book] to make him fit from his Letters to the [Latin] Grammar School." In fact, the book contained only the alphabet, some words for spelling, the Catechism, prayers, the Psalms, and two pages of arithmetic.

The Reverend John Cotton undertook also to provide an easy reading book when he published *Spiritual Milk for American Babes, Drawn out of the Breasts of Both Testaments, for their Soul's Nourishment*. No matter which text was used, there was no escape from orthodox readings intended for religious indoctrination.

THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER

In the last decade of the century there was published in Boston a book that is more typical of the Puritan era than any other book that has survived—the famous *New England Primer*, of which it is said that it "taught millions to read, and not one to sin." This little book superseded the hornbook as a beginner's textbook and was used widely in the colonies for over a hundred years. Its illustrated alphabet and rhyme for each letter beginning with

In Adam's fall
We sinned all.

and ending with

Zaccheus he
Did climb a tree
His Lord to see.

were its outstanding features. It contained a morning prayer in poetry and the never-dying "Now, I lay me down to sleep." The modern reader is shocked by the picture of Mr. John Rogers being burned at the stake and is left breathless on reading what is supposed to be a child's commentary on life:

I in the burying place may see
Graves shorter there than I.
From death's arrest no age is free,
Young children too may die,
My God, may such an awful sight
Awakening be to me!
O! That by early grace I might
For death prepared be.

About half of the text is taken up with the Shorter Catechism, which is anything else but brief. Although it was much beyond the depth of children of any age, they were expected to read and memorize its abstract theological principles, treasuring them without comprehending their meaning until maturity. Replete with solemn admonitions and sinister warnings, the *New England Primer*, throughout its eighty pages, reflected the Puritan Fathers' dour disposition and gloomy outlook on life.

The prevailing method of teaching reading at the time was no doubt the usual procedure in teaching this Primer. "The ordinary way to teach children to read is, after they have got some knowledge of their letters and a smattering of some syllables and words in the hornbook, to turn them into the A. B. C. or Primer, and therein to make them name the letters, and spell the words, till by often use they can pronounce (at least) the shortest words at the first sight."²

Writing with quills and homemade ink on rough paper or birch bark was an art so difficult to achieve that many masters, even in the Latin schools, did not profess to teach it. Arithmetic, chiefly in the form

² Hoole, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

of "casting accounts," went along with writing, and often the two were taught by a specially trained writing master. A good "arithmeticker" was hard to find. Boston, in 1683, established two public writing schools which offered ciphering also, and possibly reading. After about 1720, Latin school pupils in that city were permitted to absent themselves an hour a day in order to attend the neighboring writing school. The growth of trade from this time on stimulated the teaching of these arts so necessary to the successful conduct of business.



In Adam's Fall
We finned all.

Thy Life to mend,
This Book attend.

The Cat doth play,
And after flay.

A Dog will bite
A Thief at Night.

An Eagle's flight
Is out of fight.

The idle Fool
Is whipt at School

From Parker: History of Modern Elementary Education, Ginn and Company

Page from the New England Primer

SUMMARY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Elementary education of the seventeenth century was narrow in scope and meager in content. It occupied only a year or two of a bright pupil's time. Teaching methods were primitive. The object was to impart religious instruction. Textbooks were religious to the point of morbidity.

III. SECONDARY EDUCATION

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE FOR LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

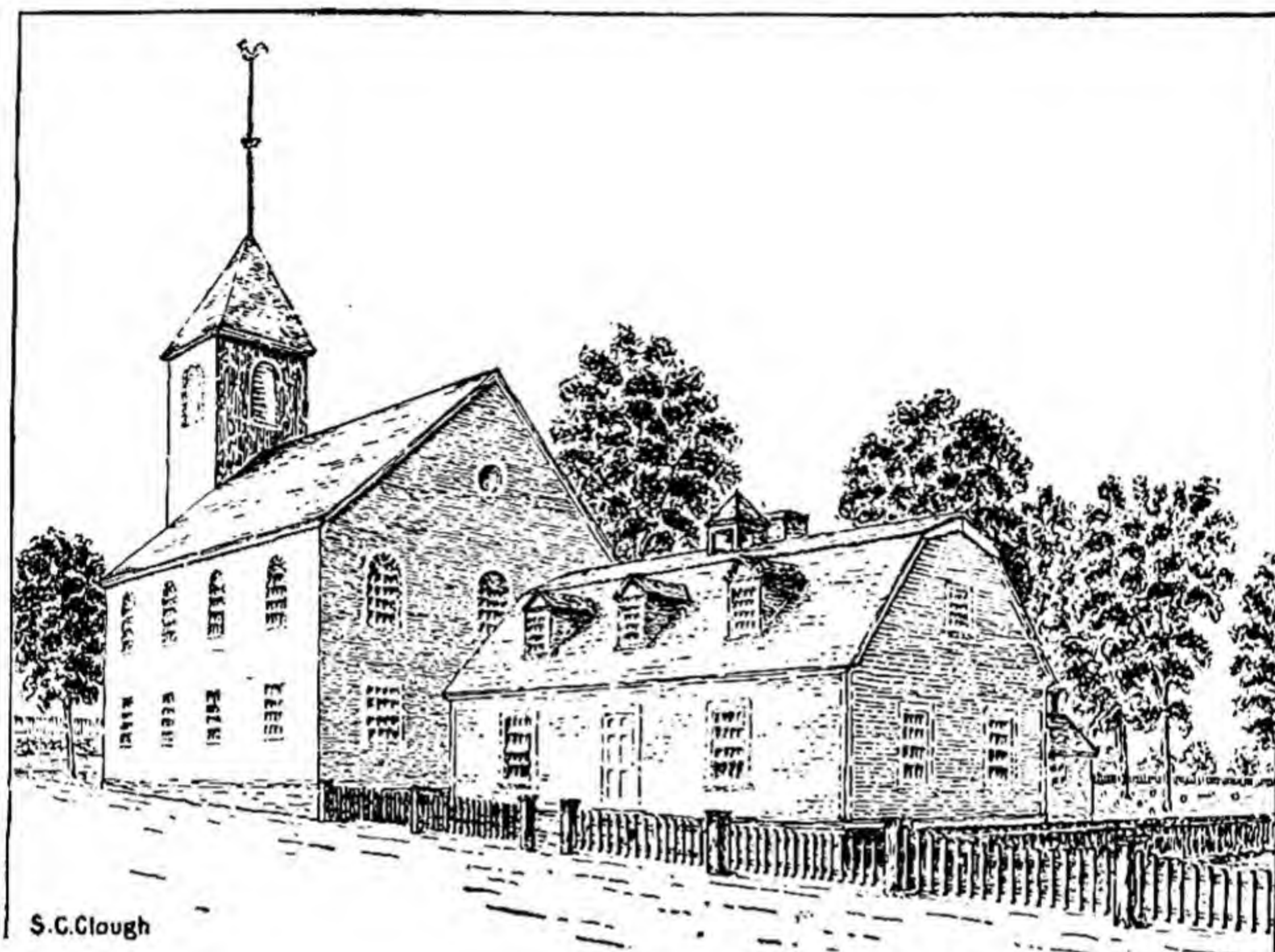
The motive for the establishment of early American schools has been best stated in the "old deluder Satan Act," passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1647. Observe how completely the religious purpose was to dominate the schools under this law.

It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the scriptures, as in former times, by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,

It is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided, those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns; and it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university, provided that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order.

This law, so far as it applied to secondary education, was designed to force certain backward towns to set up Latin grammar schools. The movement to establish such schools had begun in 1635 with the founding of the Boston Latin School, the first school of any type known to

have been established in the English colonies of America. During the following decade similar schools were opened in Ipswich, Salem, Dor-



*From Holmes: A Tercentenary History
of the Boston Public Latin School,
Harvard University Press*

Drawing of the Boston Latin School

chester, Newbury, Cambridge, and Roxbury. The founding of Harvard College in 1636 (for the purpose of training ministers) seemed to justify the widespread establishment of schools that would serve as preparatory institutions, and nearly all the early schools in Massachusetts set forth in their announcements the purpose of preparing students for Harvard College.

As population increased and public sentiment called for them, grammar schools, invariably on the traditional English or Continental model, were established in the other colonies. By 1700 they were to be found not only in New England, but in the Middle and Southern colonies as well. The religious motive continued to dominate. Although the school committee in each of the towns provided the schoolhouse, selected the schoolmaster, and supervised the discipline of the school, the local minister was expected to pass judgment upon the instruction.

THE FOUNDING OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN NEW ENGLAND

The founding of grammar schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for the reasons already stated, proceeded rapidly at first. A number of Massachusetts towns followed the leadership of Boston, and voluntarily set up schools of their own. The Law of 1647 (quoted on page 30) ordered those towns of one hundred families or over which had failed to fall in line, to establish such schools immediately or to pay a penalty of five pounds and send their children to the nearest town having a school.

This story was repeated in Connecticut, where New Haven, Hartford, and one or two other small towns set up the first schools. The Massachusetts Law of 1647 was copied on the Connecticut statute books in 1650. But as population spread out along the frontier it became increasingly difficult to enforce the laws compelling the establishment of schools in the outlying towns, and the penalty for noncompliance had to be raised in both colonies. Even with coercion not many schools were established. In New Hampshire, which was under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts until 1680, and in Maine, which continued as a part of Massachusetts until 1820, the mandatory legislation of 1647 failed to have effect and both territories were practically without grammar schools during the seventeenth century.

LATIN SCHOOLS IN VIRGINIA AND ELSEWHERE

Outside of New England little progress was made in the promotion of secondary education. In Virginia, as early as 1621, the Reverend Patrick Copeland and certain benevolent donors attempted to establish a grammar school and college. The Virginia Company set aside a thousand acres of land as an endowment, but before either grammar school or college could be opened the movement was effectively silenced by an Indian massacre. No further effort seems to have been successful until 1634, when Benjamin Symms left a legacy of property as an endowment for a grammar school to be established in Elizabeth City County.³ Sev-

³ Edgar W. Knight, *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860: European Inheritances*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1949, I, 202-234.

eral years later Thomas Eaton provided an endowment of three hundred acres of land for a school to be located in the same county. There are recorded, during the remainder of the century, several other instances of bequests for the founding of schools. Many of the wealthier families employed private tutors or sent their sons to England to be educated. On the whole, however, it seems that there were few opportunities for secondary education in Virginia before 1700.

There were few schools in the Middle colonies. The Dutch opened a grammar school in New Amsterdam which continued to operate even after the British occupation of the province. The William Penn Charter School, the first secondary school in Pennsylvania, does not seem to have attained the status of a grammar school before the close of the century.⁴ There was a Jesuit school in Maryland and one in New York which may have been of secondary grade. There were Dutch and Quaker schools in New Jersey, though these were chiefly elementary in character. King William's School at Annapolis, Maryland, opened in 1696, was the first and only school to be organized under the colonial legislation providing for a county system of secondary schools. These few instances indicate that the Middle colonies were not much concerned about education on this level during the seventeenth century.

LATIN SCHOOLS IN AMERICA ON THE ENGLISH MODEL

Latin schools of Elizabethan England were vigorous institutions which cultivated a wide range of human interests through the medium of classical instruction. Here pupils acquired a liberal education under masters who undertook to extend the scope of their mental vision by relating the facts of ancient history, geography, and science, and discussing politics and current affairs.

These schools took boys at the age of seven or eight to begin a course extending over six or seven years and devoted almost exclusively to the study of Latin and Greek. At the conclusion of the course, the student was able not only to read Latin at sight but to speak it readily and to write Latin themes in prose and verse. By this time he had

⁴ James Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, published by the author, Philadelphia, 1933, Chap. II.

made a fair start in Greek and might also have studied Hebrew. Such a course enabled the student to apply for examination for entrance to Oxford or Cambridge, but in case he did not go to college he still knew enough Latin to continue his readings in that language. Thus equipped he might become a bailiff, a notary, a secretary, or perhaps, through apprenticeship, an advocate or a physician. Withal, he was prepared for leadership of a minor sort in church or state.

By the time of the founding of the Latin grammar schools in New England, these Old World institutions were losing much of their humanistic spirit. Absorbed in religious controversy, men now looked to the schools for a meticulous study of the Scriptures in the original tongues and the refinement of English diction indirectly through reading ancient authors.⁵ The study of the classics thus ceased to be an end in itself and came to be chiefly a means to an end. Although the same Greek and Roman classics were taught as before, instruction was more or less perfunctory. The narrowness of interest in the schools of old England was even more characteristic of early American institutions. Here the colonial environment offered no incentive to the cultivation of humanistic interests. Frontier life, which was a relentless struggle with natural forces, drove men to religion and to the classics for an understanding of the Scriptures.

THE NARROW COLONIAL CURRICULUM

Few details of the curriculum employed in the early Latin schools of America have been preserved. By inference we may assume that the same course was followed as in the contemporary English schools from which the colonial leaders had graduated. Occasional references in old documents and in the lists of books advertised for sale by Boston booksellers tend to confirm this opinion.⁶

Since the grammar schools were regarded chiefly as preparatory institutions where boys who had been consecrated to the church would take the initial step in their preparation for the ministry, the college en-

⁵ Foster Watson, *The Old Grammar Schools*, Cambridge Press, New York, 1916, p. 126.

⁶ Pauline Holmes, *A Tercentenary History of the Boston Latin School (1635-1935)*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1935, Chap. IX.

trance requirements, in large measure, determined the curriculum of lower schools. It is easy to conjecture what the Boston Latin School, for instance, was teaching in 1642 when the entrance requirements of Harvard were phrased as follows:

When any Scholar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classical Latine Author *extempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; And decline perfectly the Paradigim's of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.

The words of Cotton Mather in a poem which he wrote in 1708, eulogizing his old schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever, give the best of evidence as to what the Boston school was teaching in the later decades of the preceding century. The poem is quoted in part.

Grammar he taught, which 'twas his work to do:
But he would have *Hagar* have her place to know.
The *Bible* is the Sacred *Grammar*, where
The *Rules of speaking well*, contained are.

He taught us *Lilly*, and he *Gospels* taught;
And us poor Children to our Savior brought.
Master of Sentences, he gave us more
Than we in our *Sententiae* had before.
We Learn't Good Things in *Tullies Offices*;
But we from *him* Learn't Better things than these.
With *Cato's* he to us the *Higher* gave
Lessons of Jesus, that our Souls do save.
We Constru'd *Ovid's Metamorphosis*
But on ourselves charg'd, not a *Change* to miss.
Young *Austin* wept, when he saw *Dido* dead,
Tho' not a Tear for a *Lost Soul* he had;
Our Master would not let us be so vain,
But us from *Vergil* did to *David* train,
Textors Epistles would not *Cloathe* our Souls;
Paul's too we heard; we went to School at *Pauls*.⁷

⁷ *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. VIII, No. 177.

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Several allusions in the poem call for comment. *Lilly*, for instance, refers to the famous Latin grammar of William Lily, which Henry VIII in 1540 had ordered all Latin schools in his realm to use. It was harder to master than the cruder texts of the Middle Ages. This book of rules, written in part in Latin, children were required to memorize to the bitter end before they reached the classic authors. In fact, this atrocity of teaching, which continued in the schools of England for nearly a hundred years, has been called by the historian, Foster Watson, the "martyrdom of despotism." A number of scholars, including Cheever himself, tried to simplify Latin grammar by preparing beginners' books which they called the "accidence" of Latin. Cheever doubtless used his own text in manuscript form during his lifetime, but it was not published for some time after his death.

Sententiae refers to Leohard Culmann's *Sententiae Pueriles* or *Sentences for Children*, a Latin exercise book that continued in use for many years. *Tullies Offices* refers to the *De Officiis* of Marcus Tullius Cicero, regularly required for study in all grammar schools. *Cato's* is an allusion to the moral precepts of Dionysius Cato, written many centuries earlier and widely used in Latin schools both before and after Cheever's times. Other references in the poem indicate that the full time of the school was devoted to the Bible and the classics, with no humanistic implications. According to Mather, the religious spirit interfused all instruction.

It is apparent that the average grammar school pupil, who had begun the study of Latin at the age of eight, had, on completing the course at the age of fifteen, achieved about the same degree of proficiency in that language that the present-day college sophomore, majoring in classics, has acquired at the age of nineteen. It is true, however, that the colonial adolescent knew little else except his Latin and the related fields of religion and English, while the present-day Latin major has pursued a course including, very likely, English literature, the natural and the social sciences, mathematics, and perhaps a modern foreign language, in addition to Latin. When we consider the absence of extra-curricular activities, the dismal textbooks, the long school day, and the strict discipline, we better understand the intensive regimen of the colonial Latin grammar schools. If the colonial course was deep, it was also narrow.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOLS

These schools were not state institutions in the present sense of the word. In New England they were established by a state that was under the domination of the Puritan Church. In Virginia and Maryland the Established Church of England supervised them. Clergymen jealously guarded them to see that only orthodox instruction was permitted. Even the revered Cheever at one time was grilled by the ministers for teaching what they regarded as heretical doctrine.

Nor were the schools free of tuition charges, except possibly in one or two towns in Massachusetts. Parents who were able to pay for the instruction of their children were usually required to do so. There were, of course, endowments of land and other property, which in part provided the support of schools both in New England and elsewhere. Virginia endowments sometimes consisted of land, cattle, sheep, pigs, and slaves. The term "free school" was frequently in use as a substitute for "grammar school," but here instruction was free only to a limited number of "poor scholars."

Although the teachers, as a rule, were inefficient, they were vastly superior to those who taught in the elementary schools. Perhaps the best teachers were young clergymen who combined the duties of preaching with teaching or gave their whole time to teaching while waiting for a clerical appointment. Several prominent teachers may be mentioned. Ezekiel Cheever, pupil at the St. Paul's School in London, came to America early in life and taught for seventy years in the schools of New Haven, Ipswich, Charlestown, and Boston. He died full of honors in 1708 at the age of ninety-four. Elijah Corlett, schoolmaster at Cambridge for many years, and Francis Pastorius, who began a long and useful career in Pennsylvania near the end of the century, are names that have survived the passing years.

Methods of instruction were crude, hours were long, and discipline was severe. There were a few attempts to simplify instruction, but teachers generally seemed to be unable to comprehend child nature. If the pupil was indifferent, he was perverted; if he was dull, he was a blockhead. In either case, corporal punishment was the cure. And this for little boys from seven to fifteen years of age.

IV. HIGHER EDUCATION

HARVARD COLLEGE

The history of higher education in seventeenth-century America is the history of Harvard College, which celebrated the tercentenary of its foundation in 1936. No other college was established in the English colonies before 1700, with the exception of William and Mary, which did not offer instruction of collegiate grade until after the beginning of the eighteenth century.

A quaint story of the founding of Harvard has been preserved in an old document entitled *New England's First Fruits*, dating from 1643. A part of this paper, which sets forth the motive for this early venture and the attendant circumstances, may very properly be quoted:

After God had carried us safe to *New England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and settled, the Civill Government; One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleases God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman and a lover of Learning, there living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700 l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library; after him another gave 300.l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at *Cambridge*, a place very pleasant and accomodate and is called (according to the name of the first founder) *Harvard Colledge*.⁸

It may be added that the college was established at the behest of the Puritan Church by act of the General Court (the colonial legislature) in 1636 and a sum of £400 appropriated for the first building.

⁸ *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. III, No. 51.

The work, however, seems to have got under way slowly and, but for Harvard's munificence two years later, would have proceeded even more slowly. The numerous small gifts referred to in *First Fruits* were pledged more enthusiastically at first than in later years. There were financial difficulties after the opening. The General Court was not always able to make good its promise of £60 for the president's salary. Throughout the century, although the cost of operation was extremely low, there was a constant struggle to make ends meet.

The founders of Harvard were men of high intellectual attainments. The New England colonies boasted some forty or fifty graduates of Cambridge University and more than a few Oxford graduates. These leaders planned an institution modeled after a typical college in one of these illustrious universities. The course of study, worked out under President Henry Dunster, was a ministerial training course, according to the best traditions of the time. The languages of the Scriptures were emphasized, and students were not permitted to graduate until they were able to "read the originals of the *Old* and the *New Testament* into the Latin tongue, and resolve them *Logically*." Turning Hebrew and Greek into Latin is not child's play today, nor was it in that day. Astronomy, physics, geometry, logic, ethics, and political philosophy were also taught. Candidates for the ministry for whom the course was intended were expected to be "of godly life and conversation."

There must have been many disappointments in the administration of this course. The number of students enrolled seldom ran over twenty during this period. The president usually did all the teaching in addition to attending to the business affairs of the college. The orthodoxy of the teaching was jealously watched by neighboring ministers, and there was almost constant bickering between the ministers and the president.

Many students doubtless offered indifferent preparation and the standards of the college had to be adjusted to meet this deficiency. When the Dutch scholar Joseph Danckaerts visited the college in 1680 with a companion, they tried to converse with several "young fellows, sitting around, smoking tobacco," and Danckaerts found that they knew "hardly a word of Latin." Yet in spite of difficulties Harvard continued its existence, and even in the darkest period it turned out a number of

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graduates who became ornaments of the church and state in their generation.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Public schools no longer offer religious instruction. How was it possible to offer it in colonial New England?
2. Compare the elementary curriculum of colonial times with that of some school with which you are familiar.
3. Compare old-time methods of teaching reading with those in use today.
4. Take a college catalogue and compare the course of instruction in Latin with that of the colonial Latin School. Do you think that sophomores today know better how to use Latin than did the students of colonial times?
5. In what respects is the broad course offered at present in our high schools superior to that of the Latin Grammar school? Is there any sense in which the high school course is inferior?
6. Compare the entrance requirements of Harvard in 1642 with the entrance requirements of your own college.

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The Later Colonial Period

1700-1775



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CHAPTER THREE

The "Age of Enlightenment" in Colonial America

RAPID EXPANSION OF POPULATION

The movement of emigration to America progressed slowly during the seventeenth century. By 1689 there were about 200,000 people of European descent inhabiting the string of settlements extending from Maine to Georgia. There were no large towns: Boston, the largest, had a population of 7,000; New York had 4,900 inhabitants; Newport, 2,000; and Charleston and Philadelphia, though thriving, were still small towns. The great majority of the people lived in hamlets or on isolated farms or plantations.

Between 1700 and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War a remarkable change took place. The Quakers came in increasing numbers to take up lands in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The coastal plain of the Carolinas and Georgia was occupied. Large numbers of Germans migrated to western Pennsylvania and from there many of them later drifted down into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Then hordes of Scotch-Irish from Ulster, driven by unsatisfactory living conditions in Ireland, settled in the "Piedmont" regions of the Carolinas and distributed themselves freely along the whole stretch of the frontier from Vermont southward. From these and other sources the total population of the colonies was swelled to 2,500,000 by 1775.

In any consideration of eighteenth-century immigration, the coming of the Scotch-Irish is the most significant factor. About 200,000 of

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these people migrated to America, but the influence of numbers is not more important than the contribution of a new racial strain to the colonial population. Of the Scotch-Irish, Professor Commons has made the following appraisal:

More than any other race they served as the amalgam to produce, out of divergent races, a new race, the American. . . . Trained as they were in the representative democracy of the Scotch kirk, thrown on their own resources in the wilderness, mingling with the pioneers of other races, they took the lead in developing that western type which in politics and industry became ultimately the American type; . . .¹

THE NEW FRONTIER

The new people entered the back country, drove out the Indians, chopped down trees, built log cabins, cleared new ground, planted corn, and raised cattle. In all this they showed remarkable fortitude and enterprise. They developed the spirit of independence and self-sufficiency that ever afterward characterized the pioneers in their westward march. By the time of the Revolution they had established a new frontier which protected the coast settlements from the French and Indians and, at the same time, enriched the Eastern merchants with their trade.²

If men made the frontier, the frontier in turn made men. St. John de Crèvecoeur, a keen observer who spent many years on the frontier of Pennsylvania and western New York, describes with the vivacity of Rousseau the pioneer's education through contact with frontier conditions.³ He tells us how the typical pioneer methodically went about the selection of a farm site; how he cleared land and built his home;

¹ John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, 1913, pp. 37-38. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

² Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1920. Chapter I sets forth Professor Turner's famous theory of the frontier.

³ St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America*, edited by Henri L. Bourdin, Ralph and Stanley T. Williams, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1925. See particularly the essay, "Reflections on the Manners of the Americans" (1787), pp. 62 ff.

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how, alone on the frontier, he was forced by necessity to make ropes, casks, cloth, shoes, and the like; how he nursed the sick of his family and cared for injured horses or cattle; how, in fact, he learned to meet the emergencies of life as they came with confidence and ready wit. Other observers of frontier life agree with de Crèvecoeur that the pioneers went to the school of circumstance to learn self-reliance, perseverance, adaptability, and hard common sense—those traits that set Americans apart as a unique people.

The retreat of the frontier produced a profound change in social conditions on the Atlantic seaboard. Native-born descendants of the earlier generations were moving westward. In the South, outworn lands were abandoned for new ground farther westward. Family ties were broken and community life in certain districts was disrupted. In New England the change brought dire consequences to the Puritan theocracy. Here the early inhabitants had settled in compact communities, called towns, few living beyond the sound of the meetinghouse bell. The close contact of the members enabled the church to preserve its integrity and enforce its authority. Frequent religious and social gatherings were then possible, but as the population scattered to take up promising farmlands some distance away, the church lost its hold on its membership, and the schools and other enterprises which it fostered soon languished.

Before 1700 the settlements seldom extended farther inland than the head of navigation on the rivers. By the close of the colonial era, a broad area, including the foothills and the valleys east of the mountain ranges, was occupied. A distinguished historian has drawn the contrast between earlier and later conditions in the following words:

Instead of the scattered settlements in the nearly unbroken forests, separated from one another by leagues of Indian trails, there was now [1763] almost continuous settlement from Maine to Georgia, connected by a network of roads over many of which wheeled traffic was constant and not a few of which stage-coaches plied regularly several times weekly.⁴

⁴ James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society (1690-1763)*, 1934, p. 321. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

NEW WEALTH PREPARES THE WAY FOR CULTURE

A new economic era dawned. Capitalism, which during the hundred years preceding had gradually taken root in American soil, now sprang into lusty growth. Virginia and the tobacco-raising colonies of the South found the secret to wealth in slave labor and large plantations. It was during this period that there developed the princely hereditary estates of the Byrds, the Lees, and the Carters. In New York, wealth accumulated in the hands of a few families, including the Schuylers, the Van Cortlandts, and the Van Rensselaers, who had acquired possession of large tracts of land. In New England a small group of merchants and shipowners grew rich trading in slaves, salt fish, molasses, rum, and forest products.

The masses did not share in this prosperity. Rather, the differences between the rich and the poor were accentuated. Where the few acquired the means to build fine houses, dress richly, and live in leisure and luxury, the many continued to lead lives of drudgery and hardship. This was true of the artisans and fishermen of New England, of the small farmers of the Middle colonies, of the poor whites of the South, and of the hunters and trappers of the frontier generally. Nevertheless, the acquisition of wealth, even though only a few were able to enjoy it, was important in the history of American culture, for the liberal arts could hardly have taken root without it. Of equal importance in this connection was the concentration of wealth in such urban communities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. In such places an environment favorable to the advancement of learning and culture first made its appearance.

CULTURE DIFFUSED BY FACILITIES FOR TRADE

The eighteenth century witnessed a phenomenal development of Anglo-American commerce. The colonies now came to be valuable sources of raw materials and also worth-while markets for the growing factories of Manchester and Birmingham. English exports to America in 1772 were estimated by Edmund Burke at an amount almost equal to that of the mother country's total export trade in 1704. The value

The "Age of Enlightenment" in Colonial America

of American imports during the same period showed a twelvefold increase. Avenues for shipping which had been charted on the Atlantic invited America's trade to all points of the world, including, chiefly, England, France, and the West Indies. Inter-colonial trade likewise prospered. By the middle of the century half a dozen ports, mainly in the North and East, had developed into thriving commercial centers.

The growth of trade was important not only in putting money into the strongboxes of colonial merchants and planters but also in promoting the exchange of ideas. Trade facilities were used for travel and private correspondence as well as commerce. The earlier isolation, which had retarded the transplantation of culture, was, to some extent, overcome by the frequent movement of ships into and out of American ports. Contact with foreign lands awakened the colonists' curiosity and stimulated their interest in the march of events, whether cultural or otherwise. The wealthy American soon acquired a taste for formal manners and the latest styles in dress, furniture, and architecture. The teaching of French, for young "gentlemen and ladies," indicates a cultural interest in this subject.⁵

The coastwise trade of the colonists was extensive. Eighty-seven vessels from North Carolina alone are said to have docked at Boston in one year. Nearly all the ports of New England and the Middle colonies shared in the exchange of products between the North and the South, and the ties of trade proved to be the means for diffusing culture generally throughout the colonies.⁶ Facilities for travel by land and sea knit the colonies into an English-speaking unit. There was much moving from place to place. Travelers toured the colonies. Learned men visited one another or carried on a spirited discussion of political or scientific questions by means of correspondence. Southern students attended Yale and Princeton in large numbers. By the middle of the eighteenth century through the medium of trade the colonies were finding that they had much in common. Intercommunication was preparing the way for unity.

⁵ Robert F. Seybolt, *The Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 22, 42, 54.

⁶ Michael Kraus, *Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution, with Special Reference to the Northern Towns*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN EUROPE

Beginning near the opening of the eighteenth century there developed on the Continent a thought movement which came to be known as the "Enlightenment." The origin of the movement may be traced to the liberal teachings of the English scientists Locke, Newton, Harvey, Bacon, and Boyle, but it was not until after the passing of these men that the French scholars, Voltaire, Diderot, and others gave a brilliant interpretation of the English ideas and launched the new philosophy. The Frenchmen objected to the limitations which the church placed upon freedom of thought. They attacked the authority of an autocratic state supported by a small privileged class. They railed against the superstitious beliefs and empty ceremonials prevalent in that day. They urged men to follow reason instead of prejudice or tradition. They offered to supplant the authority of the church, state, and formal social practice with the authority of science. Sophisticated and somewhat cynical realists, as they were, they professed unbounded faith in the power of science to furnish the solution of all human problems. "The Enlightenment resembled a new religion, of which Reason was the God, Newton's *Principia* the Bible, and Voltaire the prophet."⁷

There were many contradictory aspects in the Enlightenment. The proponents of the rule of reason expressed their individual opinions with a spontaneity which defied the laws of logic. For instance, Rousseau, who belonged to the period, followed the main current of the movement in his enthusiasm for nature study but rebelled against rules dictated by reason. Taken as a whole, however, the Enlightenment was a revolt against traditional authority. In its stead the new thinkers offered another authority equally exacting. Everything was subjected to rule. Music, art, drama, literature, and manners came to be governed by recognized forms. This was the age when fashion decreed that a gentleman should wear a curled wig and a tricornered hat—the age of the minuet with its studied steps; the age of formal conversation and dignified demeanor. In France, the dancing master taught children the

⁷ Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1934, II, 21.

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proper forms of behavior. In England, Alexander Pope became the dictator of poetry; Sir Joshua Reynolds, the dictator of painting; and Lord Chesterfield, the arbiter of manners. Artificiality, coldness, and insincerity came to characterize all social relationships. Thus, the spirit of the times, dominated by the adulation of science, pervaded the whole sphere of human activities.

When Voltaire set forth the new ideas in writing, the French government ordered his book to be burned. The publication of Diderot's compendium of science, *Encyclopedie*, was delayed by censorship, and when Rousseau's treatise on education, *Émile*, appeared, the author was sent into exile. But neither the punishment of the authors nor the suppression of their works halted the movement. The Enlightenment spread to Germany; it doubled back on England; and soon reverberated on the shores of America.

THE INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING IN AMERICA

America had been tardy in taking over its heritage of contemporary culture (Chapter One), but, as has already been indicated (pages 46-47), social conditions were now ripe for a cultural advance. Even before the close of the seventeenth century there are a few evidences of an awakening interest in intellectual affairs; now, shortly after 1700, the signs are unmistakable. This awakening coincides in time and spirit with the Age of Enlightenment in Europe. Although the movement in America interested only the few intellectuals to be found in the older communities, the breadth of interest which these men exhibited and the intensity of their efforts indicate that the new thought-movement was neither narrow nor superficial. The effect on American life is strikingly similar to that of the Renaissance on Italian life in the fourteenth century. The individual awoke to a new sense of his potentialities and addressed himself with confidence to the varied activities of a challenging world.

There is no truer evidence of the awakening of intellectual life than the rapid development of the reading interest. If readers had heretofore lagged behind and failed to appropriate the literary heritage of the preceding century, they were now all the more eager to catch up with the times. This was true in the case of Samuel Johnson who later became president of King's College (Columbia University). While a

The Later Colonial Period

student at Yale in 1714, Johnson ran across a copy of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* and "greedily fell to studying it." Not long after, according to his autobiography, the agent of the colony sent over to Connecticut a library containing the works of Shakespeare, Milton,

Late y imported from *London*, and to be sold by
D A V I D H A L L,
At the New PRINTING-OFFICE, in *Market-street*, PHILADEL-
PHIA. the following SCHOOL BOOKS, viz.
Virgil, Horace, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Epistles*; Terence,
Juvenal, Justin, and Cicero's *Orations*, Delphini; David-
son's *Virgil*, Horace and Ovid, *Tusculan Disputations*, Cole's
Dictionary, Boyer's Dictionary, *Telemaque*, Chambaud's, Boyer's
and Rogissard's *French Grammar*; Chambaud's *Vocabulary*, Ru-
diments and Exercises; Ruddiman's, Clark's and Lilly's *Gram-
mars*; Ruddiman's and Bail-y's Exercises; Clarke's *Introduction*
with or without the *Supplement*; Schrivelius's *Lexicon*; Wetten-
hals's and Westminster *Greek Grammar*; Clarke's *Sueton*, Justin,
Ovid, Florus, Cornelius Nepos, Erasmus, Cordery, and Esop;
Ruddiman's *Rudiments*; Mair's *Solust*; Towers's *Cæsar*; Tac-
tus in four Volumes, Ditto in two; Hutchison's *Cyropædia*; Pin-
dar *Greek*, Ditto *English*, by West; Demosthenes's *Orations Greek*,
Ditto *English*; Isocrates's *Orations Greek*, Ditto in *English*;
Epictetus; Herodotus *English*; Francis's *Horace large and small*;
Murphy's *Lucian*; Euripides; Græcæ *Poetæ Minores*; *Greek and*
Latin Testaments; *Latin Ditto*; Terence, Virgil, Quintus Cor-
tius, Eutropius, Justin and Ovid's *Epist. co. small*; *Scripturæ Ve-*
tari Testamento Historiæ; *London Vocabulary*; *Hebrew Bibles*;
Gray's *Hebrew Grammar*; Gray's *Memoria Technica*; *Dialogi*
Sacri; *Sententiæ Puæiles*; Roberto's, Stilling's and Hoole's *Cato*;
English Examples; *Accidence*; Leusden's *Compendium Græcæ*
Novi Testamenti, &c. &c.

*From Mulhern: History of Secondary
Education in Pennsylvania, Science
Press*

An Advertisement of School Books

Locke, Boyle, Newton, Tillotson, and others.⁸ Johnson reveled in the new books, which were like a "flood of day to his low state." His interest in reading, thus awakened, continued to the end of his life. From his list of the books which he read between 1719 and 1755 we are able to determine the range and variety of books available for reading and study in America during that period. Johnson read the older philosophical works, but he also kept quite abreast of his times with Berkeley, Hume, and Voltaire. In the field of general literature he added the

⁸ Herbert and Carol Schneider, *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1929, I, 6.

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contemporary writers, Addison, Swift, Pope, and Gay, to the older Milton, Bacon, Locke, and Shakespeare.

By 1750, works of many of the authors here named were available in the bookstalls of the larger cities. Benjamin Franklin's reading interests in the general field covered about the same range as Johnson's. While many scholarly gentlemen, in both the North and the South, read widely and kept in touch with current publications, it is hardly fair to generalize by saying that this was the ordinary practice of even the higher classes.

READING INTERESTS OF THE MASSES

There was, however, a noticeable demand for reading matter of the grade being turned out by the local printing presses. The printers, who had been kept under a stiff curb by state and church authorities for a hundred years, were given a free reign toward the middle of the century. By 1755, there were twenty-four presses to be found in ten of the thirteen colonies, and probably a dozen more sprang into operation before the outbreak of the Revolution. These presses published newspapers, almanacs, sermons, tracts, and miscellaneous documents that give evidence, according to the estimate of a competent scholar, of "clear thinking and vigorous expression in the realms of politics, religion, philosophy and science."⁹

The level of literary appreciation may be better gauged by the circulation of products from the native presses than by the popularity which the imported classics enjoyed. Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, founded in 1729 and said to have been the "most important and entertaining journal in America," circulated through several of the colonies. Two or three other newspapers put out from 3,500 to 6,000 copies a week and developed an intercolonial circulation. But the almanacs were distributed even more widely than the newspapers. Nathaniel Ames published the *Astronomical Diary and Almanac* from 1725 to 1764 and averaged 60,000 copies yearly. Franklin's *Poor Richard* approximated 10,000 copies a year. These and other products of the presses were within reach of the purses and reading abilities of the

⁹ Lawrence C. Wroth, *An American Bookshelf, 1755*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934.

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masses. They were important in satisfying the elementary needs of the citizen who was barely literate. They were also important in creating an intercolonial group-mind upon which was to be raised later the superstructure of standardized culture.¹⁰

THE FOUNDING OF COMMUNITY LIBRARIES

The interest in reading shows an improvement with the advance of the century. Cotton Mather, William Byrd II, and James Logan are known to have collected libraries averaging three thousand volumes each. The Union Library was organized in Philadelphia in 1746, and between this date and 1763, no less than twenty-three such institutions were founded in towns as small as Lancaster, Germantown, and Chester, Pennsylvania; Georgetown and Charleston, South Carolina; Portland, Maine; and Annapolis, Maryland. These examples of individual and public interest in books indicate that men were developing more and more a taste for reading.

AMERICAN AUTHORS WROTE TO INFORM THE PUBLIC

A few Americans of this period were prompted to try their hands at writing, but none of these, with the possible exception of Franklin, found recognition abroad. The philosophical works of Jonathan Edwards were read in Europe, it is true, but not for any special merit as literature. There were also historical and descriptive works such as those of William Byrd and Robert Beverley, and miscellaneous publications such as the textbooks of Professor Hugh Jones of William and Mary College, but, again, it can hardly be said that these attained a high degree of literary excellence. It is just, perhaps, to say that no American writer of the period wrote with a motive other than to give advice or to impart information. The aphorisms in *Poor Richard* belong in the same class as the mild moral promptings of Addison's *Spectator* and the philosophical couplets of Alexander Pope. In this respect American literature voiced, albeit feebly, the spirit of the age.

¹⁰ Kraus, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-106.

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PIONEER LIFE FAVORABLE FOR SCIENTIFIC STUDY

For almost a hundred years, as we have previously shown (pages 9-12), the progress of science in this country was retarded by the dead hand of tradition. The problems of daily life were met and most



*From Holmes: A Tercentenary History
of the Boston Public Latin School,
Harvard University Press*

First Schoolhouse on the South Side of School Street, Boston, 1748

frequently solved by the formulas of folklore. The newer tested solutions were unknown. But there is a sense in which the life of the period offered a promising field for the later advancement of science. The pioneer, in his struggle with the forces of nature, faced many real problems for which tradition offered no practical solutions. To preserve his life, to earn a living, to rear his children, he had to match his wits against the forces of a wilderness none too kind. A hostile environment

furnished a constant challenge to his inventive genius. He was forced to consider natural causes and effects; he had to guide himself by reason and sound common sense; in short, he was required to be realistic in his thinking. Thus schooled in the wisdom of the wilderness, he was ready, when time and opportunity were ripe, to lend an ear to the teachings of science as related to the medicinal properties of plants, the improvement of agriculture, and the development of mechanical devices.

A SMALL GROUP OF AMATEUR SCIENTISTS

A few Americans caught the scientific spirit of the Enlightenment almost as soon as the ideas were propagated in Europe. Among these were William Douglass and Professor John Winthrop of Boston; Cadwallader Colden and Samuel Johnson of New York; Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, James Logan, and John Bartram of Philadelphia; and Thomas Jefferson, John Mitchell, Mark Catesby, and John Clayton of Virginia.¹¹ These are names not to be passed over lightly. Their accomplishments in the several scientific fields in which they observed and experimented were widely acclaimed in this country and frequently won recognition in England and France. It is noteworthy that they drew their inspiration directly from the seventeenth-century scientists, Bacon, Locke, and Boyle, rather than from the contemporary school of French scientists who were then stirring up Europe. American scholars of the period were never narrow specialists; they gloried in the breadth of their interests. Samuel Johnson, clergyman and philosopher, schooled himself in mathematics in order to interpret Newton and, as a tutor at Yale, substituted the Copernican for the Ptolemaic system in astronomy. Franklin, in his correspondence with Colden, discussed matters so unrelated as agriculture, electricity, and the perspiratory ducts of the skin. Colden, in turn, discussed with his friend Douglass botanical collections, eclipses, and the "mystery of the distillers" of rum. Such breadth of interest characterized the Age of Enlightenment in America. The brilliant few held up the torch of learning on a benighted continent.

¹¹ Several of these were foreign-born graduates of European institutions who either brought the new ideas to America or, after coming here, picked them up by correspondence or reading.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Outstanding among the scientists of his own and succeeding times was Benjamin Franklin. Of humble birth and self-schooled, he devoted the resources of his brilliant mind to making science the servant of mankind. He was never a recluse, a pedant, or a narrow specialist. He did not specialize even in science. His interests embraced the whole range of knowledge from the study of earthquakes, winds, climate, and electricity to the improvement of agriculture and the application of scientific principles to mechanical devices. He invented a lightning rod, a stove, and a clock. His alert eye saw life from every angle. He was as resourceful in politics and diplomacy as he was in scientific experimentation.

A child of nature after the heart of Rousseau, Franklin was able, nevertheless, to move with ease in the formal social circles of his day. He was lionized in the fashionable salons of Paris. He enjoyed the association of the most brilliant men of his time, including the Englishmen Collinson, Hume, Priestley, and Dr. Johnson. Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, Oxford, and Edinburgh conferred honorary degrees upon him in recognition of his achievements. Unspoiled by such adulation, he retained to the end of his life his democratic simplicity, his appreciation of practical values, and his rare common sense. Though, in the main, he drew his inspiration directly from the English scientists of an earlier generation, more than any man of his time he personified the French ideals of the Enlightenment. In America he has left his mark upon social ideals, science, government, and education.¹²

PROGRESS OF MEDICAL SCIENCE

The Enlightenment was signalized by a new advance in the field of medicine and surgery. The absurdly superstitious beliefs and practices of earlier times began slowly to give way to new ideas and procedures based on experimental evidence. Aversion to the dissection of

¹² For brief appraisals of Franklin's service to science, see Preserved Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 70-73; also the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

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the human body was gradually overcome, although students of Harvard College, as late as 1771, are said to have conducted an anatomical society as a secret organization.¹³ The religious authorities were forced to become more liberal in their attitude toward scientific study. Paris acquired fame as a center for the study of surgery and Leyden as a center for the study of clinical medicine. The University of Edinburgh offered training to numerous students, some of whom later migrated to America and spread the reputation of that institution in this country.

Among the innovations were inoculation for the prevention of smallpox, popularized in England by Lady Mary Montagu; the microscopic study of contagious diseases; the performance of the Caesarian operation upon living women; the discovery of reflex action; and numerous other advances in knowledge and technique.¹⁴

It must not be supposed, however, that these advances created an immediate revolution in the practice of medicine either in Europe or in this country. The innovators encountered not only the inertia of tradition but the open hostility of many conservatives. No law prevented quacks from entering into active competition with legitimately trained physicians. Patent medicines and panaceas of every description were widely distributed. Writers of popular literature held the doctor up to the ridicule of the masses. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, the practice of medicine was well on the road to becoming a respected profession before the end of the century.

BEGINNINGS OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN AMERICA

The low status of the practice of medicine in this country is authentically set forth in a letter of Dr. William Douglass of Boston to Dr. Cadwallader Colden of New York in 1720. Wrote Dr. Douglass:

You complain of the practice of Physick being undervalued in your parts and with reason; we are not much better in that respect in this place; we abound with Practitioners, though no other gradu-

¹³ Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹⁴ A good summary of eighteenth-century advances in medicine is to be found in Preserved Smith's *A History of Modern Culture*, II, 106-120.

ate than myself, we have fourteen Apothecary shops in Boston; all our Practitioners dispense their own medicines.¹⁵

If such was the status of medical practice in two of the largest cities, what must have been the condition in the smaller places and in the sparsely settled rural districts? Perhaps it is too much to expect to find many well-trained men in the remote colonial settlements, yet it is possible to mention a few names that might have earned distinction even in later times. Foremost of these were Douglass and Colden. Douglass, after completing his studies in Leyden and Paris, came to Boston in 1718, and there devoted many years to the improvement of his profession and to scientific effort in other fields. Colden, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, distinguished himself through a wide variety of activities including, besides medicine, astronomical observations, the study of electricity, and the history of the Iroquois Indians. Zabadiel Boylston, at the suggestion of Cotton Mather, vaccinated several hundred people of Boston for the prevention of smallpox with such success that he won recognition from the British Royal College of Physicians. John Mitchell of Virginia did pioneer work as a surgeon and as a student of yellow fever, which earned him a membership in the Royal Society. Besides these, there were a few other trained physicians who won respect for their profession and later inspired an interest in medical education.

BOTANY ATTRACTS AMERICAN SCHOLARS

The study of botany, which had interested the colonists from the beginning of the settlement, continued to engage their attention to a greater extent, perhaps, than did any other science. Before 1700, the Reverend John Banister of Virginia compiled a catalogue of native plants and contributed to the publications of the British Royal Society. Cotton Mather, in 1721, and Paul Dudley, in 1724, both of Boston, reported observations of the cross-pollination of squash and also of Indian corn.¹⁶ William Douglass in 1720 collected specimens of several

¹⁵ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series 2, I, 44.

¹⁶ Conway Zirkle, "Some Forgotten Records of Hybridization and Sex in Plants," *Journal of Heredity*, XXIII, No. 11 (November, 1932), 443-448.

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hundred plants in the vicinity of that city. Mark Catesby of Virginia, after extensive travels in the colonies, published in 1731 what James Truslow Adams calls a "magnificent work" on natural history. Much of the early effort in this field was expended on collecting specimens to be named and classified after the manner of Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), the renowned Swedish botanist.¹⁷ Two Philadelphians, however, advanced from observation to controlled experimentation. James Logan conducted an experiment (1739) which tended to prove the sex of plants, and John Bartram, the same year, studied the sex of plants microscopically and successfully crossed species of the same genus.¹⁸ Records of the period show that American scholars in this field kept in close touch with the activities of their European contemporaries and that their contributions were on a par with the best accomplishments of the time.

SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS BECOME COHERENT

The unspecialized character of scientific study in those days permitted the same man to pursue a variety of interests. Men like Franklin and Colden, for example, dipped into nearly all the sciences. The correspondence of learned men of the period reveals not only their versatility and breadth of interest but also their audacity in attacking the problems which they had singled out for study. There was much feverish activity, not all of it scientific, in the modern sense of the word, but activity which resulted in some slight progress but no sweeping advance of science. Many amateurish efforts exhibited merely intuitive insight and eagerness to learn. The organization of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia in 1769 indicates a wide and sincere interest in the advancement of knowledge. The roll of this society in 1771 numbered about two hundred and fifty members, representing eleven colonies, the West Indies, and several European countries. The organization of this and similar societies whereby scholars might pool their ideas gave a long delayed opportunity for scholarship to become coherent and articulate.

¹⁷ For European background of the study of "Linnaean Science," see Preserved Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 93-106.

¹⁸ Zirkle, *op. cit.*

GROWING INTEREST IN THE STUDY OF LAW

In seventeenth-century England the practice of law was a middle-class vocation of little prestige or dignity. In this country, where land was plentiful and population sparse, the simple direct relationships of neighbor with neighbor offered few occasions for legal service. Every man conducted business in his own way and even pleaded his own case in court. Clergymen and scholarly laymen performed such expert services as were required. Lawyers, wherever any were to be found, were not held in high repute.

But as the population of the seaboard grew, trade expanded, and the relationships with the mother country became more complicated, the need for special skill and knowledge in this field became more urgent. Planters and merchants made it a point to inform themselves on the law. Representatives in the colonial assemblies bought books and read the law for themselves. And in the larger towns lawyers developed a lucrative practice. America bought nearly as many copies of Blackstone's *Commentaries* (1771) as England did.

Graduates of Harvard and Yale turned, in increasing numbers, to the new profession, and many young men went to London to study in the Inns of Court. So general was the study of law in this country that Edmund Burke, in a memorable address before Parliament, pointed out the fact as evidence that Americans could not safely be treated as ignorant colonials, unmindful of their rights. The practice of law as a vocation rose in esteem, and as the rift with the mother country widened, the colonists looked for champions of their cause among men of legal training. Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and William Livingston were only a few of the lawyers who became leaders of the Revolution.¹⁹ Bred on Locke, Harrington, and Blackstone, and the contemporary school of French thinkers, these men were prepared to raise the framework of a new nation. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are evidence of their diligence.

¹⁹ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, 1927, I, 100-103. See also Burke's *Speech on Conciliation with the American Colonies*.

PORTRAIT PAINTING THE ONLY ARTISTIC OUTLET

When Southern planters grew rich, and the merchants, traders, and shipbuilders of the Middle and Eastern colonies acquired comfortable fortunes, all aspired alike to higher standards of living. Crude, unsightly log cabins, rudely constructed cabinets, chairs, and tables, buckskin breeches, and homespun petticoats might be good enough for the frontier family, but substantial citizens of means and influence now sought the refinements of civilized society. After the fashion of the English gentry, they built for themselves spacious mansions on Georgian architectural lines, which they equipped with furniture after the celebrated designers of the day—Chippendale, Hepplewhite, the brothers Adam. They imported silks, brocades, and other finery, and dressed according to the fashions of London and Paris. From Europe they summoned dancing masters, music teachers, tutors, and governesses to perfect the rough and ready youth in formal manners, dancing, music, drawing, fencing, French, and fancy needlework. Well-to-do families generally affected the social graces of the age that made Lord Chesterfield the beau ideal of the drawing room.

In such yearnings for the better things of life lie the motives for colonial art. Americans were, for the most part, content to appropriate what Europeans invented. There was little impulse toward creative art. The fad for family portraits furnished work for the few artists to be found in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Newport, and Charleston, but there was practically no incentive to artistic effort in any other field. Toward the end of the period, several portrait painters, among them Benjamin West, Matthew Pratt, Charles W. Peale, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, and John Singleton Copley, achieved distinction, but, except for this group, there were no artists of merit.²⁰

With the growth of cities and towns and the increase of wealth and leisure came increasing interest in music. The Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, employed the organ, violin, and other musical instru-

²⁰ Beard and Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–166. Frank Jewett Mather and others, *The American Spirit in Art*, "The Pageant of America" series. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, XII, 4–37.



George Graff's Book
Jan 24th 1780

Bella the Beau
tied his eyes with
a red ribbon.

THE
Compleat Tutor
For the
GERMAN FLUTE Note Book
Containing
The Best and Easiest Instructions
for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency.
Translated from the French,
which is added a Choice Collection of the most
Celebrated Italian, English & Scotch Tunes,
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A Colonial Gentleman's Accomplishment

ments in their church services. This community also introduced the music of Bach. Charleston as early as 1733 promoted what were probably the best concerts in America.²¹ Handel's *Messiah* was being performed in New York and Boston by 1771.²² By this time European music masters were encouraged to immigrate and offer lessons in the playing of the piano, harpsichord, violin, or guitar. These lessons often combined music with the teaching of the minuet and the steps of other formal dances.

The transplantation of European culture encountered the usual obstacles of a frontier society. Here, primitive impulses held sway. Men strove first to make a living and after that to get rich. Only when their material wants had been satisfied could they take thought of the fine art of living. As might be expected, few achieved financial success and the wherewithal to elevate themselves to cultural interests. The history

²¹ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 147; also p. 276.

²² Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

of the fine arts in colonial America is consequently brief; in general it is the biography of a handful of artists who could and did appropriate the somewhat limited cultural legacy of the mother country.

GROWING INTEREST IN DRAMATICS

In the coast towns of the Middle and Southern colonies, there was a growing interest in dramatic art. New England, however, continued to remain hostile to the theater throughout the whole colonial period. A traveling troupe performed at Charleston as early as 1703, and a theater was built at Williamsburg in 1722, but it was chiefly in New York and Philadelphia, after 1750, that the drama thrived. Theaters in the last-named cities now provided seasonal offerings that would have done credit to later times. Actors from abroad performed Congreve's Restoration dramas and the best current plays from the London stage. Shakespeare's *Richard III* and *Hamlet* were presented repeatedly. In a dozen smaller towns the performances listed indicate the development of an appreciative interest.²³

ZEAL FOR RELIGION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In an earlier chapter of this book it was asserted that religion dominated seventeenth-century life in both England and America. The extended account of the development of various secular interests found in the present chapter may have led the reader to conclude that these interests were now overshadowing the interest in religion. This may have been true among the intelligentsia, but it must be remembered that this circle was decidedly small and that its influence seldom extended beyond the limits of the larger towns on the seaboard. Speaking of the masses of the population, it may be safely contended that religion still motivated behavior to a greater extent than did science, politics, literature, or art. Religious activities continued to be more conspicuous than any other, with the possible exception of economic and political activities.

The Established Church now bestirred itself to get a firmer grip

²³ Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-309; Kraus, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

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on its colonial constituents, who were rapidly increasing in numbers in both the Middle and Southern colonies. The Reverend James Blair was appointed commissary of the Bishop of London for Virginia and the Reverend Thomas Bray, commissary for Maryland. An agitation was begun for the establishment of an American bishopric, but the suggestion met with vigorous opposition and did not materialize until after the Revolution. The Church of England further strengthened its position through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, organized in 1701 to conduct mission work in America. By the outbreak of the Revolution, the society was maintaining seventy-seven missionaries and numerous schools. These activities, which invaded even Puritan New England, give substantial evidence of an unabated zeal for religion, further evidence of which will be offered in succeeding paragraphs.

DIVERSITY OF RELIGIOUS SECTS IN PENNSYLVANIA

The New England colonies were as nearly homogeneous in religion as any of the thirteen. Virginia, with its Episcopal population, was also fairly homogeneous. At the other extreme, the population of Pennsylvania and the other Middle colonies furnished a great variety of religious sects. The hospitable Penn welcomed any and all denominations to his colony. By 1750, there were to be found in Pennsylvania Lutherans, Episcopalians, Dutch Reformed, Catholics, Presbyterians, Quakers, Mennonites, Moravians, Pietists, Seventh-Day Baptists, Dunkers, and Jews, not to mention freethinkers of no particular denomination. Amid such diversity only a government which kept its hands off religion could thrive, and the rulers wisely permitted each sect to go its own way. The tolerant spirit engendered by this policy made the colony a refuge for the oppressed of all denominations and established Philadelphia as the capital of liberalism in America.

DECLINE OF CALVINISTIC INFLUENCE IN NEW ENGLAND

Protestantism in America represented the "dissidence of dissent." Just as the Calvinists of England had dissented from the Established Church, so liberals of all degrees and shades of opinion in New England

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now dissented from the austere doctrines of Puritanism. Orthodox ministers who dreamed of a theocratic state with themselves in control were kept busy stamping out the fires of liberalism which, as fast as they were extinguished, broke out in new places. It was difficult to harmonize the unyielding doctrines of total depravity, predestination, and election with the freedom, prosperity, and optimism of the new country. Puritanism soon found itself at war with individualism in government as well as religion.

The times and environment favored the liberals. In religion as well as science, truth was now to be tested by reason and common experience. The philosophy of John Locke and his disciples was soon to lead many impressionable Calvinists first into deism and then into Unitarianism. This, however, was not to be accomplished without a bitter struggle with the conservatives under the able leadership of Jonathan Edwards. In the end the iron grip of Puritanism on New England was broken. The state was wrested from the control of Calvinistic clergymen; blue laws became dead letters; science acquired a new freedom; and the spirit of democracy found expression in religion and daily life.²⁴

THE "GREAT AWAKENING"

The great religious revival which began in New England in 1734 under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards and spread, during the next decade, to the Middle and Southern colonies, as George Whitefield and William Tennant entered the field, has been appropriately called the "Great Awakening." The movement shook the colonies from "center to circumference." Benjamin Franklin wrote in his *Autobiography*: "It is wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless and indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious."²⁵

Jonathan Edwards, still holding fast to the old time tenets of Calvinism, pictured the tortures of the damned in a fiery hell with such fervor that hundreds fled from the wrath of God to seek refuge in divine

²⁴ The decline of Calvinism is amply treated in Parrington, *op. cit.*, I, 98-117; 148-162.

²⁵ Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, Chap. VIII.

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mercy. Edwards believed devoutly in the mystery of conversion. His preaching set forth the logic of Calvinism, on the one hand, and on the other gripped the emotions of his hearers.

At the time Edwards was conducting his revival, John Wesley was launching the Methodist movement in England. The time was ripe in both countries for a return to simple virtues and fundamentals in religion. Signs were pointing to a reaction against empty ceremonials and to a rule of reason. The superficiality of the formal church service left many men cold, and there was a general revulsion against the hypocrisy and artificiality in social intercourse so prevalent in that day. Against all this Wesley and his Methodist followers protested as they sought to show the way back to a religion of simple faith and personal experience. Across the Channel, Rousseau struck the same note in his doctrine of a natural religion. This was a doctrine that the common man could understand, and among the masses it spread like wildfire.

John Wesley himself came to Savannah, but it was chiefly through the preaching of George Whitefield, whom Wesley later sent over, that the revival spread through the colonies. Whitefield made seven visits to America and preached from Georgia to New England. The new doctrine made a peculiarly effective appeal to his hearers in all parts. Its simplicity, directness, and sincerity suited the needs of a plain people in a crude environment. In its emphasis upon the inner life and personal morality, it turned attention from dogma and empty ceremonial. A host of followers sprang up to carry forward Whitefield's labors, and so strong was the movement that much that has entered into the making of the temperament of the typical modern American may be traced to the influence of the eighteenth-century revivals.

The relation of religion to education is so important that special attention will be directed to it in the next chapter.

RÉSUMÉ

During the eighteenth century the colonies attained their majority. Many natives were now four generations removed from England or the Continent, and few except the newcomers any longer regarded themselves as Englishmen, or Germans, or Dutchmen living abroad. The good earth supplied their daily wants with much to spare, and the

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yoke of government, except in rare cases, fell lightly on their necks. Poor immigrants quickly acquired self-respect and developed pride in their new circumstances. The individual's independence and sense of self-sufficiency soon came to be a social trait that distinguished the whole community.

America now stretched forth its hands to appropriate the cultural heritage which it had so long neglected. Eager minds discovered Shakespeare, Milton, and the poets, novelists, and dramatists of later days. Others of a scientific or philosophical turn found Bacon and Boyle, or Hobbes, Hume, and Priestley of the contemporary school of English thought. Lawyers read Harrington, Locke, and Blackstone. A few young men went to see what London had to offer in the way of artistic training. In all this there was a conscious striving to secure the best that England could provide.

There was unquestionably an Age of Enlightenment in colonial America. Scholars on this side of the Atlantic found their inspiration in the works of Englishmen of an earlier generation just at the time that Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau were making the same discovery. It is true that the intellectual movement did not spread so far, nor reach such heights, as it did on the Continent, but considering the primitive state of culture and the fewness of learned men, the movement here is quite significant. On neither continent did the masses participate or immediately feel its influence. The extent of the movement is best measured by contrasting the cultural level of the period with the low level of seventeenth-century America.

Colonial America, in a sense, served as a mirror to England. It reflected England's culture in literature, art, and social conventions. There was much slavish imitation, and not a little affection, particularly in manners and dress. But in certain fields, notably science, medicine, and law, there was a noticeable individuality. The pioneer's sense of the practical became the American scientist's intuition. With the pioneer's audacity he went beyond imitation and adapted new mechanisms to his own use. He left no field untouched because it was not the field of his specialty. With Bacon he took all knowledge for his province, and met success. Such men were Franklin and Colden, and not a few others.

The "Age of Enlightenment" in Colonial America

The colonies were now knit together by bonds of trade, language, culture, and other common interests. Now economically and socially self-sufficient, they were ready to cut the leading strings which England held and take the step toward sovereignty.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Investigate further the "rugged individualism" of early American pioneers and the conditions that brought forth this trait.
2. Compare the treatment of topics related to culture, in his chapter, with the treatment of the same topics in some history of the United States, written as a college text. Do you think the college history texts could well devote more space to such topics?
3. Did the Enlightenment reach America directly from English sources or did it come indirectly from England through French thinkers?
4. Is the evidence submitted in this chapter sufficient to justify the conclusion that there was actually an Age of Enlightenment in colonial America?
5. Evaluate the work of Franklin as a scientist.
6. Evaluate the work of Jonathan Edwards as a theologian.
7. Is Professor Commons right in concluding that the Scotch-Irish strain dominates in the typical American?

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CHAPTER FOUR

The Transition to Formal Culture and Practical Utility in Education

STATUS OF EDUCATION IN 1700

Historians generally convey the impression that there was a decline in intellectual interests toward the end of the seventeenth century. While there is some evidence to the contrary, in New England, where near the middle of the century the most favorable conditions in all America were to be found, the auspicious beginning seems to have been followed by a lull in educational progress. Towns preferred to pay fines rather than establish Latin schools. This was particularly true along the frontier where the population was sparsely settled and the maintenance of schools difficult. Samuel Johnson, who received his education in Connecticut in the early years of the new century, appraising the situation in that colony when he was a boy, wrote:

. . . the condition of learning (as well as everything else) was very low in these times indeed much lower than in the earlier times while those yet lived who had had their education in England and first settled this country. These were now gone off the stage and their sons fell greatly short of their acquirements as through the necessity of the times they could give but little attention to the business of education. . . .¹

¹ Reprinted from Schneider, *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College, His Career and Writings*, I, 5. By permission of Columbia University Press.

Throughout the seventeenth century there was only one college in English-speaking America and this was Harvard, a tiny ministerial seminary, torn by dissension and struggling to maintain its existence. If the situation was discouraging in New England, it was deplorable elsewhere. There were several Latin schools in Virginia, and a few others in the Middle colonies, but there was little or no incentive to establish schools in these parts before the closing years of the century.

I. EDUCATION STILL DOMINATED BY CHURCHES

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH BECOMES ACTIVE

After 1690 the Church of England came to realize its stake in America. Activities looking toward the extension of its influence were therefore begun and afterward prosecuted with considerable vigor (see page 63). In England, the church through the home mission activities of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, zealously fostered schools for the poor, and now in America it made schools the objects of its special care. We have already alluded to the energetic administration of James Blair, commissary of the Bishop of London in Virginia. Dr. Blair collected funds, in both England and America, for the founding of a seminary for the training of Anglican clergymen, bringing his venture to a successful conclusion in 1693, when he established William and Mary College. As head of this institution from 1693 to 1743, he saw it grow from an insignificant grammar school into a higher institution of considerable influence and power.²

The activity of Governor Francis Nicholson of Maryland in securing the passage of the legislative act of 1694, calling for the establishment of a free school (see page 35) in each of the counties of that colony, was doubtless prompted by the Church of England. The corporation under whose jurisdiction the proposed schools were to be placed was enjoined to provide rules for their government in accord with the canons of the church.³ The Archbishop of Canterbury was made chancellor. King

² Edgar W. Knight, Ed., *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860: European Inheritances*, I, 368-552. Section XII presents the more important documents relating to the early history of William and Mary College.

³ Elmer E. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1902, p. 56.

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William's School at Annapolis, the only county school to materialize under the act, seems to have been dominated by the church throughout the colonial era.

In South Carolina the hand of the church directed the provincial government in the incorporation of a number of so-called free schools. The first of these was the Charleston free school, founded in 1710. An act of the legislative assembly in 1722 established seven such schools, but it is not certain that all these were ever opened. A school was opened at Dorchester in 1724 and another at Childsbury in 1733. By the time of the Revolution there was a total of eleven free schools in as many Episcopal parishes in South Carolina. These were supported by fees, legacies, and donations of various kinds. The principal subjects taught were Latin, Greek, and religion. In Charleston, however, an usher was provided to "teach writing, arithmetic, merchants' accompts, surveying, navigation, and practical mathematics."

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL

The most comprehensive activity of the Established Church was that undertaken by an auxiliary organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), chartered in 1701 for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Church in the English colonies. This was a missionary enterprise, designed to plant new churches, to assist small congregations, and to provide elementary education for the Indians and white settlers. We are here concerned only with the schools which the Society founded or aided.

The Society launched a program early in the eighteenth century which it vigorously carried forward until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. It provided a subsidy for a schoolmaster at Charleston, South Carolina, from 1705 to 1709. It invaded the stronghold of Calvinism at Boston in 1707. It maintained from five to ten elementary schools in New York continuously from 1710 to 1776. It also established schools in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, North Carolina, and Georgia. In fact, there were no colonies, except Virginia and Maryland, where the denomination was already well entrenched, which were not visited by Episcopal ministers or schoolmasters.

The Society confined its activity mainly to the field of elementary

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education, though in one or two instances it aided Latin grammar schools. The motive for education was religious indoctrination. Toward this end children were taught to read the Holy Scriptures and to memorize the catechism, the prayers, the graces, and familiar church formulas. They were also taught to write and were given enough arithmetic to fit them for "useful employments." New primers, A B C books, and other texts were shipped across the sea. Without doubt, the most conspicuous work in elementary education during the entire colonial era was that done by the schoolmasters in the service of this benevolent organization.⁴

QUAKER SCHOOLS

Among the Protestant sects outside New England which held that each individual should read the Bible and interpret it for himself, the Quakers were perhaps next to the Puritans in their ardor for educating the common people. From the date of the earliest settlements in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and other colonies, Quaker immigrants were active in establishing schools for the children of their congregations. The contribution of the Quakers to colonial education was by no means unimportant. William Penn's Frame of Government for Pennsylvania, passed by the first colonial legislature in 1682, provided for a system of public schools in which the interests of religion should be conserved. This legislation, so far as it affected education, never went into effect, for there were so many different denominations that it was impossible to provide a form of religious instruction satisfactory to all. Quaker schools, therefore, remained under the jurisdiction of the Society of Friends.

Most of the Quaker schools were of elementary grade. In these the chief concern was for the inculcation of Quaker morals, mode of living, and ideas of religion. Some attention also was devoted to writing and arithmetic for practical considerations. The Quaker meetings were the medium for an extensive program of adult education.⁵

⁴ Edgar W. Knight, *op. cit.*, Section III, pp. 62-139, reprints important documents relating to the activities of the S.P.G. in the Southern colonies.

⁵ Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1920.

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The William Penn Charter School was the most important of Quaker institutions of the colonial period. It may be classified as a free school in that it offered free tuition to the poor of all creeds, but the religious character of its instruction was carefully guarded. In the course of the half century beginning in 1700 it developed into a cluster of schools on the same plot of ground. In addition to the elementary school and the Latin school, there appeared an English school—a new type of institution—offering such practical studies as writing, casting accounts, mensuration, and French or German.⁶

THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIVAL OF EDUCATION

The Presbyterians stood for an enlightened ministry, but the scarcity of higher institutions affording proper training had long been an obstacle in their way. Until after the middle of the century they were compelled to send young candidates for the ministry abroad or to Yale⁷ for instruction. The first effort to remedy this deficiency was made by William Tennant, that “old grey-headed Disciple and Soldier of Christ,” as George Whitefield called him, when, about 1726, he opened his Log College at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania.⁸ Tennant’s school was a Latin grammar school, hardly a college, but it did yeoman service in turning out Presbyterian ministers with a modicum of training. Perhaps its chief contribution to the times lies in the fact that it became a model for a number of similar institutions which sprang up in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, and in colonies of the South.

The Great Awakening furnished the impulse needed to bring about the founding of a ministerial training school for the Presbyterians. The College of New Jersey, now known as Princeton, was founded for this purpose. From the first, graduates of Princeton were fired with missionary zeal for teaching as well as preaching. A number of them bore the torch of learning into the Southern colonies. These Presbyterian teaching preachers are responsible for the organization of the Liberty Hall Academy in Virginia which developed into Washington

⁶ The significance of this trend toward practical studies will be apparent later (see p. 77).

⁷ Yale was Calvinistic but not Presbyterian.

⁸ Mulhern, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–67.

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and Lee University; for Prince Edward Academy, in the same state, which grew into Hampden-Sydney College; and for Crowfield Academy in North Carolina, which later became Davidson College. Other apostles of light and learning forged westward and southward, setting up rude schools where before there had been none.

OTHER DENOMINATIONS FOUNDED SCHOOLS

The German Lutherans, particularly those in Pennsylvania, were interested in education but slow to establish any but neighborhood schools. The Moravians of the same colony, although few in numbers, were more active, and by 1746 had founded fifteen schools. A few years later they established the famous Nazareth Hall Academy at Bethlehem, the second oldest school for girls in the United States.⁹ In the Middle colonies the Baptists, stirred to action by the Great Awakening, founded several schools, among them a ministerial training school in New Jersey, which, in 1764, was transferred to Rhode Island and became Brown University. Two years later the Dutch Reformed Church founded Rutgers, a similar institution, in New Jersey.

YALE COLLEGE

The growing need for a second college in New England culminated in 1701 when a group of ten ministers secured from the general assembly of Connecticut a preliminary charter for a collegiate school. Beginning without buildings or funds for operation, aside from students' fees and a small grant from the colonial legislature, the new institution was moved from one small town to another until 1720. About this time Elihu Yale, a prosperous merchant who had spent his early days in New England, gave to the college the proceeds from the sale of three bales of valuable goods, amounting to £562. To this amount he added shortly afterward other small donations, which altogether enabled the college to complete a building which had been started at New Haven. With

⁹ The Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, the oldest girls' school in America, was founded in 1727.

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this equipment the college was placed upon a permanent basis. In 1745 it was chartered as Yale College in honor of its benefactor.

In general Yale was similar to Harvard. Both were chiefly ministerial training schools offering the conventional courses in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew for the study of the Scriptures. The private life of the students was jealously guarded and religious observances were rigidly adhered to. By the close of the colonial period Yale's roster included the names of students from remote colonies as well as from New England.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Dartmouth College grew out of the effort of the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock to Christianize the Indians. Beginning his labors in his home in 1754, Wheelock secured a charter for a college from George III and in 1770 located his school at Hanover, New Hampshire. The course of study, like that of Harvard and Yale, was designed for the training of ministers. There were few Indian students, however, before or after the Revolutionary War.

KING'S (COLUMBIA) COLLEGE

A brief account of the founding of King's College will furnish an appropriate transition from the present topic to the consideration of secular interests in education. Up to 1754, the date of the establishment of the college, there were no nonsectarian colleges in America. Thus, when William Livingston protested against the vesting of control of the new college in the Episcopal Church, his action is virtually without precedent. Although the Established Church won a temporary victory and for a time controlled the institution, the policy of the college was liberal from the start. In announcing the opening President Samuel Johnson issued this significant announcement:

And lastly a *serious, virtuous* and industrious Course of Life being first provided for, it is further the Design of this College to instruct and perfect the Youth in the Learned Languages, and in

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the Arts of *Reasoning* exactly, of *Writing* correctly and *Speaking* eloquently, and in the Arts of *Numbering* and *Measuring*, of *Surveying* and *Navigation*, of *Geography* and *History*, of *Husbandry* *Commerce* and *Government*: And in the Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us and in the *Air*, *Water* and *Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors*, *Stones*, *Mines* and *Minerals*, *Plants* and *Animals*, and of everything useful for the comfort, the *Convenience* and elegance of Life in the chief Manufactures, finally to lead them from the study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of God and Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another. . . .¹⁰

This liberal program stands in marked contrast with the narrow theological courses of the earlier colonial colleges. Johnson made good his word so far as it lay within his power. In 1757 he employed a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy and soon afterward secured a "good apparatus of instruments." All this reflected the spirit of a new age. The forward movement caught up other schools and colleges and bore them along in its current.

CONCLUSION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

It is unfair to say that there was any great diminution of religious influence on education before the Revolutionary War. The great majority of schools and colleges were owned and controlled by the churches. The sporadic secular tendencies which are about to be mentioned in the next section are important with reference to future tendencies rather than for their total effect upon colonial life.

II. CHANGING CONDITIONS: NEW SCHOOLS

THE CLASSICS FOR FORMAL CULTURE

The eighteenth century signaled the development of a more liberal conception of education. It is true the churches continued to set

¹⁰ Quoted in Louis F. Snow, *The College Curriculum in the United States*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1907.

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up schools and supervise teaching, but the course of study was not so narrow as formerly, nor were the ends of education so definitely limited to the interests of religion. Instruction in the classics as such, conducted in the later grammar schools and the earlier academies, now came to lose much of the religious significance attached to it in the seventeenth century.

By the early eighteenth century that portion of the population living on the seaboard enjoyed security from inroads by Indians, and an increasing number of people, through the development of stable industries, were enabled to relax somewhat from the daily grind of maintaining existence. Inspired by the improvement in their economic status, these people developed a new attitude toward life, and naturally turned to the ideals of education fostered by the leisure classes in contemporary England.

The schools forthwith came to reflect the aspirations of the older and more substantial communities and fashioned accordingly the "gentleman and scholar."

The classics were the chief elements in the cultural program designed for this purpose. Gracious manners, elegant speech, familiarity with the best of ancient authors, all came to be the goal toward which many schools directed their studies. Thus, the schools met the demands of the upper classes for training for the formal social life of that time. This recognition of individual culture as a function of education, along with that of religious training, is the first step to be noted in the long process of institutionalizing education to be described in this book. A second step was made contemporaneously when the schools began taking over the function of vocational training, a function which, before that time, had been provided almost exclusively by the apprenticeship system.

THE VOCATIONAL MOTIVE

In the trading centers of the North and East about this time a need for practical vocational training appeared. The Latin schools, conducted as they usually were by masters whose scholarship had been confined almost exclusively to the classics, were unable to meet this need. As a consequence, there sprang up in the cities and larger towns along the

Atlantic seaboard numerous vocational, or quasi-vocational, private "English" schools.

As early as 1709 a private schoolmaster in Boston was offering writing, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, astronomy, projection of the sphere, and the use of mathematical instruments.¹¹ A master in Philadelphia, in 1733, offered trigonometry, surveying, gauging, dialing, and navigation. George Brownell taught bookkeeping in New York City as early as 1731. Still others, whose names appear upon the lengthy list of private schoolmasters before 1800, offered English grammar, and occasionally French, Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese.¹² Practical considerations largely determined the range of studies advertised by the respective masters.

Toward the middle of the century the Latin grammar schools began to include one or more of the newer studies. One such school in New York City, in 1732, provided Latin and "all the Branches of the Mathematics." David Dove's "public grammar school," in Philadelphia, in 1759, offered English, writing, bookkeeping, geometry, trigonometry, Greek, Latin, geography, rhetoric, poetry, history, moral philosophy, and physics.¹³ These instances are only a few that could be cited to show that the grammar schools of the later colonial period by no means restricted their courses to the classics, as had formerly been the case. A new motive, that of practical utility, now appeared alongside that of formal culture and college entrance. The middle classes, which had formerly provided a grammar school and perhaps a college education for the sons whom they had tithed to the ministry, were now seeking to provide for their other sons a practical education that would help them in trade or business.

The difficulties involved in the administration of this enlarged grammar school curriculum are obvious. In the same institution it is hard to reconcile purposes so divergent as preparation for college and training for a vocation. Particularly is the task difficult when there are only one or two teachers to the school, as was usually the case in colonial

¹¹ Robert F. Seybolt, *Source Studies in American Colonial Education, The Private School*, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Illinois, Vol. XXIII, No. 4. Bulletin No. 28, p. 35, 1925.

¹² *Ibid.* See also Mulhern, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

¹³ Seybolt, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

Books Benjamin Dabear's sup. learner
Mr. John Lovell Latin in Boston from 1752 to
1759

Agenda	£ 0. 1. 0
derius	0. 1. 6
Asop. Fables	0. 1. 6
Nomenclatur	0. 1. 1
Clark's Introduction	0. 3. 0
Asubopius	0. 1. 4
Dictionary	0. 12. 0
Grammat	0. 2. 6
Hostatio	0. 2. 0
Garretianus Exercise	0. 1. 6
Jullies Epistles	0. 1. 1
Ovids Metamorphoses	0. 10. 8
Greek Grammar	0. 2. 0
Virgil	0. 10. 8
Cesar Commentaries	0. 10. 8
Greek Testament	0. 1. 0
Latin Testament (Bera)	0. 2. 5
Terrence (best)	0. 8. 8
Greek Lexicon	0. 1. 4
Horace Delph.	0. 11. 4
Carried over	£ 54. 3. 3

Proctor

Jullies Orations
Kings heathen Gods
Cicero ad Brutus
Homer

5. 3. 8
0. 2. 6
0. 8. 4
0. 6. 0
0. 6. 8
0. 1. 1

At his French School

French Grammar
Ternadus

2 Vol.

0. 3. 9
0. 11. 4
£ 0. 15. 1

From Holmes: A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, Harvard University Press

Textbooks Used in the Latin School, 1752-1759

times. After about 1750, therefore, two, and sometimes three, courses, or "schools," came to be represented in the same institution. In the William Penn Charter School of Philadelphia by 1751, for example, there had developed alongside the Latin school, an "English school" giving a separate curriculum, housed in a separate building, and under a separate master.¹⁴ Just how current was the practice of separating the courses at that time we do not know, but we shall see presently that the early academies, following the lead of the Penn Charter School and Franklin's academy, with its Latin, English, and mathematical schools, were soon to standardize the practice.

THE ACADEMY EMERGES

The demands of the times led not only to the liberalizing of the grammar school curriculum but also to the establishment of a new type of secondary school, later to be known as the academy. This new institution, which appeared first about 1750, offered a range of studies designed to serve a variety of ends, including that of preparation for college.

The progressive and public-spirited Benjamin Franklin voiced the liberal spirit of his age in certain *Proposals for the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania* which he published in 1749. The broad course of study which he outlined included, besides the ancient languages, French, German, Spanish, English grammar, rhetoric and literature, history, natural sciences, and other subjects designed to produce a practical, well-behaved, and well-informed man of affairs. Long in advance, as we have seen, the private schools, offering the "English branches," had paved the way for Franklin's liberal program. This academy, organized somewhat in the manner indicated, was opened in 1751.

Franklin's academy met the difficulty of presenting an orderly arrangement of the various subjects by organizing them into three schools: the English, the Latin, and the mathematical. Students applying for admission were given their choice of the three courses. Although the elective system was employed from a very early date, this grouping of

¹⁴ Mulhern, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

the subjects in parallel courses was to become a feature in the organization of many succeeding academies.

During the last quarter of the century, numerous academies sprang up in the states along the Atlantic seaboard. These came into existence chiefly as a protest against the narrowness of the Latin-school curriculum, and the desire for a more practical type of education. Most of these were private institutions. Their courses of study were determined, on the one hand, by the somewhat vaguely defined aspirations of the communities in which they were respectively located, and on the other hand, by the previous training of the masters. As a consequence, some of the academies offered little more than the primary studies, while others taught, or made a pretense of teaching, the college and professional subjects.

III. THE NEW CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION NO LONGER SUFFICIENT

America was now entering the adolescent stage. Men asserted themselves vigorously and confidently; they were ebullient with optimism; they yearned for freedom to exhibit their wit and physical strength; they were self-conscious in society and scrupulously attentive to formal social practices. Rather like half-grown boys, the eighteenth-century colonists were prompted by the motives of youth. Such impulses inevitably affected the trend of education.

Instruction as offered in the Latin schools and colleges was found to be too narrow, too remote from life, too impractical. Citizens of Boston petitioned the authorities in control of the famous Latin School for either less Latin or a quicker way of getting it. About the same time Master Wigglesworth jotted down regretfully in his diary a note on the "boldness [of Harvard students] to transgress the College law in speaking English."¹⁵ The *Royal Primer* offered a mundane rather than a celestial reward for virtue. Chaldee and Syriac, which appeared in the

¹⁵ Colyear Meriweather, *Our Colonial Curriculum (1607-1776)*, Capital Publishing Company (later Central Publishing Company), Washington, D.C., 1907, pp. 91-92.

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early curriculum of Harvard, were dropped after a few years, and the clergy had difficulty in requiring the students to study Hebrew and Greek. Toward the end of the period men like Cadwallader Colden and Samuel Johnson were advocating the teaching of modern studies in English, while Franklin and Benjamin Rush were expressing a preference for English and French literature instead of the classics.

IDEAS FROM ABROAD

This dissatisfaction with the traditional curriculum was not of native origin although there was much in the environment of early America to augment it. Concurrently in England and on the Continent for a hundred years the realistic movement had been gradually gaining headway. Ratke (1571–1635), a German, had urged instruction in the mother tongue and the teaching of things before words. Comenius (1592–1671) had emphasized the teaching of useful knowledge acquired through the five senses. Locke (1632–1704) had called attention to the importance of physical education and the need for social poise on the scholar's part. None of these, however, had abandoned religion and the classics. Rather they had sought to have them better taught and, with the introduction of the newer subjects, to make the course of study more adequately serve the needs of active life. It is this conception of education that now found its way to America.

AMERICANS ECHO NEW THOUGHT

In this country William Penn was perhaps the earliest to express the new point of view. In a letter to his wife regarding the education of his own children, Penn wrote:

For their learning, be liberal. Spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved; but let it be useful knowledge such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind; but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and the mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses, or ships, measuring, surveying, dialing, navigation; but agriculture especially is my eye. Let my

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children be husbandmen and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example.¹⁶

Later in the eighteenth century, native-born Americans were to express Penn's frankly utilitarian view in words just as plain. Franklin voiced a preference for the useful rather than the ornamental. Samuel Johnson thought that education should "qualify men for the different employments of life to which it may please God to call them."¹⁷ Benjamin Rush asserted, near the close of the century, that the "great design of liberal education is to prepare for usefulness here and happiness hereafter."¹⁸

THE TRANSPLANTED CURRICULUM

The new curriculum also came from Europe. We have already seen how the private schoolmasters, most of them fresh from England, propagated the new studies in the coast towns. Dissenting clergymen, who somewhat earlier had begun to establish academies in the mother country, were indirectly influential in extending the realistic movement to America. Germans of the Pietistic persuasion, who settled in Pennsylvania, brought with them Francke's zeal for study of real things. New textbooks of the type of Robert Dodsley's *The Preceptor*¹⁹ and treatises on education of the type of David Fordyce's *Dialogues Concerning Education* were being read in this country prior to the Revolution.

Such influences affected instruction in colleges as well as in secondary schools. The University of Pennsylvania and King's College, which arose about this time, were liberal from the start, but now older colleges were casting loose from their traditional moorings. Harvard began to collect astronomical and physical apparatus. Yale substituted the teach-

¹⁶ Samuel M. Janney, *The Life of William Penn*, Philadelphia, 1852, p. 189. The letter quoted, addressed to his wife and children, was left behind by Penn on his departure for America in 1682.

¹⁷ Schneider, *op. cit.*, IV, 120.

¹⁸ Benjamin Rush, *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, 2d ed., 1806, Essay III.

¹⁹ *The Preceptor* (1747) is a collection of textbooks on reading, geography, history, arithmetic, and natural history which was regarded as sufficient for a secondary education without Latin.

ing of the Copernican theory of the universe for the long obsolete Ptolemaic system. A Harvard professor was now bold enough to wage a spirited controversy with an orthodox clergyman on the thesis that a certain devastating earthquake was the result of natural causes and not a visitation of Divine wrath. There was much interest in medicine, agriculture, electricity, and mechanics, even if there was little progress in the study of these subjects.

TRAINING IN FORMAL SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

The control of materialistic processes, toward which such training tended, was not inconsistent with the concurrent demand for training in formal social practices. Education of the practical type led to the acquisition of wealth, which in turn led to the improvement of one's social position, a consideration devoutly to be hoped for in an age of pronounced class distinctions. In the higher orders of society, polished manners, poise, and evidence of erudition were required. Avid interest in polite behavior led to the reprinting in New York in 1775 of the classic, Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son*. George Washington copied, as a pupils' exercise, a brief English essay on etiquette, which was not by any means the only contemporary treatise on this subject. The practical man of the period needed not only to behave well but also to embellish his conversation with Latin or French. The gentleman must at least appear to be a scholar.

Training in social conduct came to be regarded as an integral part of the education of both sexes. French dancing masters, sensing the growing demand for the arts of the drawing room, opened dancing schools in most of the larger towns. Girls' finishing schools sprang up in large numbers. The scholar Fithian confided to his *Journal* that one must have the social graces in order to win a lady in marriage. The wealthy household of Colonel Carter in Virginia, which was probably exceptional, required the services of music and dancing masters besides a tutor in classics.²⁰ When Colden saw a copy of Franklin's *Proposals for the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania*, he suggested that the au-

²⁰ Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, John R. Williams, ed., Princeton Historical Association, Princeton, N.J., 1900.

thor might well add to the course of study something in the way of music and dancing.²¹ Franklin was probably not averse to the suggestion, for he also esteemed the "ornamental" in education.

It is clear that the conception of education in eighteenth-century America was threefold: religious, practical, and formal. The relative strength of any one of these elements varied with different persons and places. Religion, which had been such a conspicuous force in the preceding century, was still a powerful factor in education, but it was not, by any means, the sole determinant. Practical utility was claiming an increasing share of attention, and was to attain the ascendancy as a motive in education a century later. Formal culture, however, seems to have been the chief objective of the time. There was a trial of strength between this motive and practical utility in the instance of the Philadelphia Academy. Franklin had planned an English school, but when the patrons demanded formal instruction in the classics, the founder was forced to abandon in disappointment his practical ideas. For the upper strata of society the type of education most desired was that provided by the study of the classics and by training in polite behavior.

RÉSUMÉ

Education in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century reflected the Age of Enlightenment. There was a new appreciation of intellectual powers and a new demand for institutions of learning where these powers might be cultivated. The churches were quick to sense the demand for a rational approach to religion and to set up lower schools for the improvement of the minds of the masses and higher schools for the training of an intelligent clergy. Churchmen became more liberal in their views, and colleges under their jurisdiction broadened the narrow theological course to include some of the newer scientific studies.

The conception of education also was enlarged to include a broader range of human interests. Two new motives—practical utility and formal culture—now vied with the religious motive for academic consideration. The spirit of the times, swayed by the rule of reason, turned senti-

²¹ *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1917*, New York, 1918, IV, 156–157.

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ment strongly in favor of the newer motives. These influences, however, affected only a small percentage of the population. Few children had access to schools and the masses were meagerly instructed, if at all. The colonists, as a whole, were creatures of an environment to which institutions of learning contributed little. But this is not to say they were entirely uneducated, for the discipline of the frontier led to wisdom of a different sort. Schools now began to offer vocational or quasi-vocational studies. Music, dancing, and French were offered for social utility, and the classics were taught with a view to their cultural values. This liberal conception of education was truly characteristic of the era. It worked itself out in the formulation of new studies and in the establishment of English schools and academies to teach them.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. To what extent were the schools of the eighteenth century more efficient than the schools of the preceding century in transmitting the heritage of English culture?
2. Review Chapter Three with a view to indicating: (1) the effect of an improved environment upon the establishment of schools; (2) its effect upon the curriculum.
3. Point out evidences of the development of elementary education.
4. If seventeenth-century schools taught the classics for their religious significance and eighteenth-century schools taught the same subjects for formal culture, what difference would there be in the teaching?
5. Does it seem to you that the academy came about through a merging of the English school and the Latin grammar school into one and the same institution?
6. Describe the colonial gentleman. Compare him with your idea of the gentleman of today.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Secularization of the Curriculum

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Enough has been said in the last two chapters to indicate that the eighteenth century was clearly one of transition. The world at large, and America in particular, was breaking with the past. This was true in education as in all other aspects of life. Teaching was no longer the exclusive monopoly of the churches. The interests of the layman in the practical pursuits of life now came to be a consideration rivaling the religious interest in importance. The schools were accordingly charged with greater and more varied responsibilities.

On the Atlantic seaboard changing conditions were more in evidence than elsewhere. Here there was much hurry and bustle incident to a thriving foreign and domestic trade. To those who knew the secret of making money, wealth came quickly. Merchants and traders were eager to advance their business interests and establish the social prestige of their families. This class of society called for a type of education in line with their ambitions. Belonging to it were aspiring young men who saw before them a road to wealth and influence if only they could acquire facility in writing or speaking the English tongue, knowledge of a modern language needed in commerce, or skill in some useful trade such as bookkeeping or surveying. These motives furnished the incentives of the new education. Schoolmasters were not slow to devise studies to meet the new demands.

Thus, secular subjects were added to a curriculum which in earlier years had been devoted almost exclusively to religion. The present chapter gives an account of the introduction of these subjects into American schools.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF GRAMMAR

The development of English grammar coincides in point of time with that of the American commonwealth. At the time the early settlements were being made in Virginia and Massachusetts, enterprising spirits in the field of scholarship were experimenting with new forms of language teaching. The first English grammar, *Grammatica Anglicana*,¹ was written in Latin and appeared in 1594. This was followed in 1624 by John Hewes's *A Perfect Survey of the English Tongue*, which was intended to prepare the pupil to take up Latin grammar. From this date forward, new treatises on grammar came thick and fast. Charles Butler, Ben Jonson, and Robert Lowth led the hosts of grammar writers, who by 1851 had prepared texts under four hundred different titles.²

Prior to the development of grammar of secondary grade, elementary instruction in reading, writing, and spelling had been given in the colonial dame schools, in private schools, and to beginners in some of the Latin grammar schools.³ With the growth of the vernacular literature and with the increasing demand of the middle class for training in the forms of correct expression, and in the arts of conversation, informal writing, and public discourse, the grammar method promised to satisfy a widespread practical need.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century incoherent demands for more advanced training in the vernacular met a response in the offerings of private schoolmasters. Independent freemen of intelligence and means, though they might not look so high as the Latin school for their children, now aspired to more advanced training than the dame

¹ The author signed himself as "P.G.," which is thought to stand for P. Greenwood.

² Gould Brown, *The Grammar of English Grammars*, 10th ed. New York, 1851. See the compilation of titles of English grammars.

³ R. L. Lyman, *The Development of Grammar between 1750 and 1850*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 12, 1921, p. 12.

school could offer them. As early as 1734, William Waterland of the Wassamacaw school in South Carolina announced that he would teach the English language grammatically to the sons of neighboring planters entrusted to his care. Charles Fortesque of Philadelphia made a similar offer to the citizens of that city in 1743. A private school in New York, in 1753, and another in Boston, in 1766, offered grammar; and, by 1775, one private school in ten was turning to his subject.⁴ With the organization of the academy, the subject was introduced into the curriculum primarily to serve as a core subject of an English school which should run parallel with the older Latin schools.

Private schoolmasters up and down the Atlantic coast, from Massachusetts to South Carolina, had, by 1750, sensed the financial promise in this practical subject. The colleges also were interested. Brown was teaching Lowth's text in 1783; and by 1785 Columbia was offering a four-year course in English, consisting chiefly of grammar and rhetoric. The newly established University of North Carolina, in 1795, prescribed English grammar as a requirement for entrance.

The first text known to be used in this country was Thomas Dilworth's *A New Guide to the English Tongue* (London, 1740) which was reprinted by Franklin's press in 1747. This text, a reader, speller, and grammar combined, was to go through twenty-six editions before 1792. Dilworth was one of the first to provide word lists for spelling. Prior to this time spelling had been taught incidentally with reading, and the Bible was often used as an advanced reader.⁵

American authors were early in the field. The first grammar by an American was that of Hugh Jones, Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary College, and was published in England in 1724. The first to be written and printed in America was that of Samuel Johnson, President of King's College, which appeared in 1765. More important was Noah Webster's *Plain and Comprehensive Grammar* (1784), which was the first to attain wide circulation. By this time the vogue of grammar had been definitely established on this side of the Atlantic. Lindley Murray crowned the efforts of the eighteenth-century writers when, in 1795, he published the first of his series of texts. Murray's grammars

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Meriweather, *op. cit.* p. 34.

were to ride the high tide of popularity for half a century and were to become models for many succeeding texts.

The early texts were logical treatises sometimes only thirty or forty pages in length.⁶ These were designed after the fashion of the Latin *accidence* (first-year Latin book), logically organized, and usually taking up in turn letters, syllables, parts of speech, and parsing. The demand of the times was for correctness of expression, particularly in public discourse. That many were skeptical of the results that might be obtained by this method of teaching language is well known.⁷ Nevertheless, the formal organization of the English language for the purpose of teaching clearly exemplifies the institutionalization of a process that earlier had been cared for, if at all, outside the school.

THE INTRODUCTION OF RHETORIC

On the high wave of the Renaissance, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the rhetoric of Cicero and Quintillian came into the Latin grammar schools of England,⁸ where formal logic had long held undisputed sway. Rhetoric books in English were soon to appear. Leonard Cox published, in 1524, his *Arte and Crafte of Rhetoryke*, in which he followed for the most part the ancient models. Thirty-six years later Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, a book that was to be several times reprinted, came from the press. Other treatises by English authors followed shortly.

The earlier rhetorics were concerned chiefly with the training of the orator. Style, figures of speech, eloquence of pulpit and the public rostrum, with perhaps a treatment of poetry, dragged out their weary length through the first, the second, and sometimes the third volume.⁹ Until far along into the nineteenth century these formal treatises, with few or no exercises, were used wherever rhetoric was taught.

⁶ Samuel Johnson's *The First Easy Rudiments of Grammar, Applied to the English Tongue* contained only thirty-six pages. Charles Butler's *English Grammar* contained sixty-three pages.

⁷ Stuart G. Noble, "The Assault on Formal Grammar Considered in Its Historical Setting," *English Journal* (March, 1922), XI, 150-158.

⁸ Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1909, p. 344.

⁹ For example, Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres*, 3 vols., 1787.

Franklin included rhetoric in his proposals for an academy in Philadelphia (1749), and academies from this time forward used grammar and rhetoric for the core subjects of their English schools. Yale, in 1776, permitted the senior class to hire one of the tutors to give instruction in rhetoric, history, and belles-lettres to members of the class who might secure the approval of their parents.¹⁰ This incident indicates that rhetoric in Yale was thought of as an extracurricular activity rather than a school subject.

COMPOSITION EMERGES

The need of training in oral and written expression was felt long before any practical means was devised for securing it. In colonial days the need was pressing, and with the coming of political freedom after the Revolution it became all the more urgent. Students in the Latin grammar schools were expected to acquire facility in the use of the English language through the process of translation and through exercises in Latin prose composition. Franklin proposed to satisfy the public demand by having English composition taught in the academy which he planned to establish at Philadelphia. Phillips Exeter Academy announced the subject in 1818. Other academies and high schools followed this leadership, but not before the middle of the nineteenth century was composition dignified with a place as a regular, full-time subject. For many years it was mentioned only in a footnote to the course of study, to be taught along with declamation an hour or two a week.

In earlier times knowledge of the rules of grammar and rhetoric was expected to function spontaneously in correct, precise, and elegant diction. Only after many years of experience did schoolmasters learn the futility of such a hope. The prevailing point of view was that theory should precede practice, that practical composition should wait on a thorough understanding of the principles of grammar and rhetoric. The memorizing of textbook rules in either grammar or rhetoric was the prevailing form of instruction. There was little or no theme writing. This point of view accounts for the fact that composition so often occupied only a few pages in the back of the grammar or rhetoric.

¹⁰ Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 54. See footnote citing source.

INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE IN SCHOOLS

The practice of using English quotations for illustrative purposes was initiated by Charles Butler in a Latin treatise on rhetoric, published at Oxford in 1600.¹¹ In dealing with the subject of rhythm this author quoted two excerpts from Edmund Spenser's *Faërie Queene*. From this meager beginning arose the present elaborate courses in English literature in American colleges and secondary schools.

As vernacular literature developed through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, its utility for linguistic training became more and more manifest. Daniel Defoe urged its incorporation in the school program, and Franklin went so far as to suggest the study of a list of English classics quite similar to that recommended at present for the college entrance examination.¹² The teaching of literature, however, did not become a feature of the school and college curriculum until late in the nineteenth century.

THE EARLY TEACHING OF HISTORY

In the best of the colonial Latin grammar schools, ancient history, although not taught as a separate subject, was collateral with the study of the classics. Instruction of such character, however, probably amounted to little, as only exceptional teachers were capable of giving it. As a separate subject, history found a place in the curriculums of private schools along the Atlantic seaboard toward the middle of the eighteenth century. A teacher of French in a Boston private school, as early as 1734, also offered a course in history, and there are half a dozen

¹¹ *Rhetoricae libri duo, quorum Prior de Tropis et Figuris, Posterior de Voce et gestu, Praeceptui in usum scholarum accuratius editu. Oxoniae, 1600*, editions in 1629, 1642, 1649. See Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 441.

¹² "The *English* Language might be taught by Grammar, in which some of the best Writers, as *Tillotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon Sidney*, Cato's Letters, &c. should be classicks: The *Stiles* principally to be cultivated being the *clear* and the *concise*." See Franklin's *Proposals relating to the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania*.

other instances of the teaching of history by private schoolmasters in New York and Philadelphia between 1759 and 1779.¹³

More than half the space in Benjamin Franklin's *Proposals Relating to the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749) is devoted to a discussion of the merits of this study. To Franklin, history was an all-embracing subject, contributing to a truer understanding of geography, chronology, religion and morality, ancient manners and customs, civil and natural law, commerce, and politics. The subject he outlined was to have liberal and practical as well as moral and civic values.

UNITED STATES HISTORY EMERGES

In Franklin's *Proposals* we find the following significant reference to the teaching of American history:

If the new *Universal History* were also read, it would give a connected idea of human affairs, so far as it goes, which should be followed by the best modern Histories, particularly of our Mother Country; then of these Colonies, which should be accompanied with observations on their Rise, Encrease, Use to *Great Britain*, Encouragements, Discouragements, etc., the Means to make them flourish, secure their Liberties, etc.

Universal, or general history, was soon to be introduced into academy programs. The hope of Franklin that American history would be taught in the Philadelphia Academy was not immediately realized, for adequate textbooks were not available until some years later. We have it on the authority of Noah Webster that he himself included in the third part of his *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, published in 1784, the earliest readings relating to the history of the United States. Webster also wrote, a year or two later, a chapter of some twenty pages for Morse's *Geography* dealing with the United States after the Revolution. When taught at all before 1800, history, whether ancient or modern, was taught in connection with geography, Latin, or reading.

¹³ Robert F. Seybolt, *Source Studies in American Colonial Education*, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Illinois, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, Bulletin No. 28, 1925.

VOCATIONAL STUDIES

The earliest vocational training in America was conducted by the masters of certain trades. As in England and in European countries generally, the apprenticeship system prevailed. Knowledge of the "trade or mystery" was obtained through service over a period of years in the office or shop of the tradesman. Skill was acquired through observation and "doing."

In early colonial days schoolwork bore little or no relation to the work of the apprentice. If the craft called for an elementary knowledge of reading, writing, or "cyphering," the apprentice was either allowed time off to attend school or was taught by the master. The economy of acquiring the trade in school seems to have been first suggested in this country toward the end of the seventeenth century. About that time private schoolmasters began to advertise brief courses in accounting, surveying, and navigation.

"The Practical Branches of the Mathematics," as taught in colonial schools, included chiefly geometry and trigonometry as applied to navigation and surveying. These courses could hardly have been intensive, as they seem to have been offered to students who could take them at odd hours and for only a brief period. Thus, Theophilus Grew of Philadelphia (1734) promised to "furnish anyone with a sufficient knowledge in any of the foregoing Branches, in three months time, provided the Person have a tolerable Genius and observes a constant Application." Grew included in his course "the use of Globes, Maps, Planispheres, Scales, Sliding Rules and all sorts of mathematical instruments." The practical character of the course in navigation is indicated in the boast of James Lamb of New York who flattered himself that he could "render Navigation (in some Measure) familiar to the young Navigator the first Voyage."

BOOKKEEPING IN THE EARLY SCHOOLS

We have positive evidence that bookkeeping was being taught in the larger commercial centers of colonial America early in the eighteenth century. "Merchants' Accounts" was being offered by John Green,

a private schoolmaster of Boston, in 1709. Shortly after this date, an usher was provided for the free school of Charleston, South Carolina, to teach "writing, arithmetic, merchants' accounts, surveying, navigation, and practical mathematics." The extension of trade led to the opening of numerous day and evening schools teaching bookkeeping. Thirty-five such schools offered this subject and related ones in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia alone, and during the period embraced by the years 1709 and 1758 many schools teaching commercial subjects doubtless thrived in cities and towns up and down the coast.¹⁴

Courses in bookkeeping were definitely vocational. Masters boasted of their previous experience in business, if such they had had, and set themselves steadfastly to train their charges in the practical aspects of the art.¹⁵ The Italian system of double entry was introduced in Philadelphia by Andrew Lamb in 1733, and as people came to understand it better, the system was employed in other schools. The titles of the textbooks indicate the practical character of business training. *The Trader's Assistant*, *The Trader's Sure Guide*, *Complete Tradesman*, and *Ready Reckoner* have their modern counterparts in workers' handbooks.

OTHER COMMERCIAL STUDIES IN THE EARLY SCHOOLS

While bookkeeping, or "merchants' accounts" as it was frequently called, undoubtedly provided the chief item in early schools for business, it was by no means the exclusive one. Handwriting, for instance, an art inseparable from that of keeping accounts, was usually taught at the same time. In Boston, the teaching of writing and arithmetic was in the charge of skilled specialists who taught nothing else. Handwriting continued to be one of the standard subjects of the business school, even after the invention of the typewriter more than a century later.

The teaching of shorthand is not of recent origin. The art, known in ancient times, was practiced by writers and ministers in the later colonial period. Caleb Phillips introduced Weston's system in Boston in 1726. This system, "whereby can be joined in every sentence at least two, three, four, five, six, seven, or more words together in one, without

¹⁴ Seybolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 47, 108. See also "Notes on the Curriculum in Colonial America," *Journal of Educational Research* (Dec. 1925).

¹⁵ Seybolt, *Source Studies*, p. 50.

ARITHMETICK

Vulgar and Decimal :

Charles Frost's book 1729

WITH THE

APPLICATION

THEREOF, TO

A VARIETY OF CASES

IN

Trade, and Commerce.

supposed that Isaac Greenwood was the



*Luther
Heres*

said to be by Isaac Greenwood.

BOSTON: N. E.

Printed by S. KNEELAND and T. GREEN, for T.
HANCOCK at the Sign of the Bible and Three
Crowns in Annstreet. MDCCLXXIX.

From Holmes: A Tercentenary History
of the Boston Public Latin School,
Harvard University Press

Title Page of Isaac Greenwood's Arithmetick, 1729

taking off the pen, in the twinkling of an eye," won favor in Boston's business circles. Secretaries, not only in Boston but in Philadelphia and New York, acquired the art through teachers of private schools. These early instances of the teaching of shorthand, however, seem to have been exceptional.

MATHEMATICS IN COLONIAL SCHOOLS

The public Latin schools were slow to introduce mathematics. Although the Boston Latin School did not introduce the subject until after 1814, private semivocational schools early sensed its practical utility. The following advertisement appeared in a Boston newspaper in 1709:

OPPOSITE to the Mitre Tavern in Fish-street near to Scarlets Wharff, Boston, are taught Writing, Arithmetick in all its parts; And also Geometry, Trigonometry, Plain and Spherical, Surveying, Dialling, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy; The Projection of the Sphere, and the use of Mathematical Instruments: By Owen Harris.¹⁶

Isaac Greenwood taught algebra in his private school at Boston in 1727, while fifty schoolmasters of about the same period, according to Professor Seybolt, taught various "Parts of the Mathematics" in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. These bits of evidence indicate that mathematics, when taught for practical application in surveying, navigation, and other similar vocations, made considerable headway in the eighteenth century.

MATHEMATICS IN THE COLLEGES

The study of mathematics was considered of slight importance in the colonial colleges. Arithmetic and a little geometry were the only mathematical subjects taught at Harvard until after the beginning of the eighteenth century,¹⁷ and these were offered in the senior year. Al-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁷ Florian Cajori, *The Teaching and History of Mathematics in the United States*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 3, 1890, p. 20.

gebra was not offered until well along in that century. It was not until 1726 that a professorship of mathematics was established at Harvard, but the College of William and Mary had a professor of mathematics from its very beginning. An *Accidence to the Mathematick*, written by Hugh Jones, first professor of mathematics in this institution, includes algebra and geometry but only the merest rudiments of these subjects were taught. Textbooks of the period almost invariably treated the several branches of mathematics, arithmetic, algebra, and geometry in the same volume. In this respect they resembled modern texts on "general mathematics."

The lack of attention then given to mathematics in American colleges is not at all surprising when one considers that the study did not become prominent even in Cambridge University until the last half of the seventeenth century. Arithmetic was considered "vile" by the aristocracy, necessary only for clerks and tradesmen! Arithmetic was the first mathematical subject to be required for college entrance, in fact the only study of the group required until after the opening of the nineteenth century. It was required for the first time by Yale in 1745, but not by Harvard until 1807.¹⁸

NATURAL SCIENCES NOT STUDIED IN COLONIAL SCHOOLS

The teaching of the natural sciences belongs to the study of the nineteenth century rather than this period. As has been earlier indicated (pages 54-55) clergymen, physicians, and learned men with a flair for scientific study were to be found in considerable numbers in pre-Revolutionary days, but their activities grew generally out of their own interests and did not spring from anything the schools had to offer. Astronomy was taught in connection with navigation as offered in many of the private schools.¹⁹ Samuel Johnson prepared himself by private study to offer the Copernican theory and the concepts of Newton in Yale early in the eighteenth century. Harvard and Yale also taught nat-

¹⁸ Edward C. Broome, *The Historical and Critical Discussion of College Admission Requirements*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1903, p. 35.

¹⁹ Robert F. Seybolt, "Notes on the Curriculum in Colonial America," Reprinted from the November and December numbers of *Journal of Educational Research* (1925), p. 5.

ural philosophy and geography. Although there was widespread interest in the practical application of scientific principles to agriculture and mechanic arts, these subjects did not reach the schools until some years later.

THE FINE ARTS IN THE EARLY SCHOOLS

In the colonies of the South as well as of the North, there was, after 1750, considerable demand for the "dancing master type" of education. Usually in the cities and towns the accomplishments were available for boys through the dancing schools, and for girls, through the private day and boarding schools. Dancing, fencing, French, and fancy needlework, which at present are hardly to be classed as fine arts, seem to have been so regarded at that time.

The attention devoted to music and art in the colonial Latin grammar schools, in the boys' academies, and in the high schools of the early national period, was negligible. The singing of hymns was doubtless a feature of the religious exercises in some of these schools, but this can hardly be classed as a curricular activity. As for art, occasionally a school offered drawing, or drafting, which seems to have been taught in connection with courses in applied mathematics. Generally speaking, however, we may say that the regular secondary schools throughout this period and the better part of the nineteenth century offered boys few if any opportunities for aesthetic development. Had such opportunities been offered it is doubtful if the sturdy male youth of the pioneer days would have taken readily to them.

In the history of the girls' schools for the same period, we find a different story. The fine arts were regarded as peculiarly appropriate for the education of a lady. Toward the end of the eighteenth century day and boarding schools for young ladies began to spring up not only in the larger cities of the North and East but in the smaller towns of the South. Here music, dancing, drawing, and, more frequently than any of the others, fancy needlework, were taught.

Music masters newly arrived from Europe, according to advertisements, offered lessons in the playing of the piano, harpsichord, violin, or guitar. The steps of various formal dances, including the minuet, were taught. The art course sometimes included painting. The course

in fancy needlework, which made its appearance toward the middle of the eighteenth century and continued strongly in favor until after about 1830, furnished the most elaborate offering. Among the items of needlework which teachers saw fit to advertise were embroidery, nuns' work, Dresden work, tambour, flourishing muslin, feather work, filigree, petit point in flowers, and the making of samplers and artificial flowers.²⁰

Music occupied a more conspicuous place in the "female" seminaries than it did in the boys' academies and public high schools. To the fostering care of the girls' schools, music owes more than the historians have generally given them credit for. The instruction may not always have been of a very high order, but where else was anything more substantial to be found?

Little can be definitely said with reference to the standards obtaining in the earlier schools. The distinction between elementary and secondary courses, if any, is hard to determine, and the sequence from year to year is not at all clear. We know, however, that in the female academies, although younger girls were sometimes admitted, the usual age for admission was about twelve. The arts taught were therefore designed for adolescent rather than immature children. To this extent they may be regarded as secondary, even though no elementary prerequisite may have been prescribed.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Although modern languages were not offered in the colonial Latin grammar schools, instruction in these languages was given in the private English schools at an early date. French was taught in a private school in New York City as early as 1703 and instruction in German was offered in Philadelphia in 1743. Most of the teaching was done in the homes of the teachers. Little is known about the methods used except those described in the teachers' advertisements. One teacher claimed that the language would be "taught correctly and expeditiously"; another, "in the most perfect and easy manner."

French was taught as early as 1608 by French Catholic missionaries

²⁰ Woody, *op. cit.*, I, 284.

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in Maine.²¹ Wherever the French settled, the language was taught by various Catholic orders, such as the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers. In 1724 Ursuline nuns arrived in Louisiana from France under contract with the Company of the Indies to take charge of the hospital in New Orleans and to educate young girls. The Sisters in the convent, some years later, are said to have been excellent teachers of French and English for they taught not only "by theory but in practice, the pupils being required to converse daily in both languages."²²

Most of the teachers used texts and some supplemented these by treatises of their own. One of the earliest texts was that of Thomas Blair, *Some Short and Easy Rules, Teaching the True Pronunciation of the French Language*, published at Boston in 1720.

The first school to have a German teacher seems to have been the English Quaker School in Philadelphia, where Franz (Francis) Daniel Pastorius taught German from 1698 to 1700. He left Philadelphia to take charge of a German school established at Germantown in 1702. The Moravians included German in their curriculum from 1742 on but at first permitted none to attend their academies except members of their own denomination.

In addition to the languages mentioned, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish were also taught in the colonies, but none of these were as popular as French. Italian was spoken of as a "polite tongue"; Spanish and Portuguese were studied primarily for commercial purposes. The teaching of these or any other foreign language, however, was exceptional in colonial days.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Very little need was felt for physical education during the colonial period. The population was largely rural, and agricultural life and pioneer activities provided plenty of muscular exercise and left very little leisure for organized exercises. Towns were too far apart or too busy with their own affairs to promote athletic contests. The colonists,

²¹ Charles H. Handschin, "The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States," U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, No. 3, 1913, p. 10.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

for the most part, favored games and sports, with the exception of the Puritans, who considered it both unwise and unprofitable to waste time in this way. The Dutch enjoyed sports of various kinds, chief of which was bowling. Wherever available, village greens or commons served as playgrounds. Bowling Green in New York City was one of these, as its name signifies. When public playgrounds were not available, streets were used for play, just as they are today. By the end of the colonial period the young men and boys of the English colonies were participating in sports of various kinds—cricket, fives, rounders, and football. Children were enjoying hoops, marbles, tops, and hopscotch.

NO PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

No place was provided for play or recreation in the colonial elementary schools, nor was the value of play and its significance in education realized at that time. The purpose of the grammar schools was to provide instruction in the classics and to fit students for college. The aim of these schools did not include play or any form of physical education. The scholar who was preparing for college was taught that play was not conducive to dignity and that the boisterous rowdy games of other boys were beneath his notice.

The academies gave some attention to the physical welfare of their students and considered physical exercise desirable. One of the leaders in this movement was Franklin, who insisted that schools should have a "healthful situation" and that opportunities to participate in games be offered the students. Very few educators of that time, however, realized the full significance of physical education. No time was set apart for group games, although the whole student body was sometimes encouraged to participate in them after school. Specially trained teachers were not considered necessary for these games, nor were they, in any sense of the word, regarded as a responsibility of the school.

RÉSUMÉ

Many studies which we today regard as fundamental in general education were in the formative stage one hundred and fifty years ago. Such subjects as English, history, mathematics and the modern lan-

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guages were then taught only in the more progressive schools. The churches, which controlled most of the substantial institutions, long continued to assert a preference for the traditional classical curriculum. Scholars looked askance at the newer offerings. It is true some of the best thinkers of the period favored the modern trend, but these represented the "radical fringe" of society and did not voice the sentiment of the majority in control of the schools. For many years the new studies were to wage an uphill fight for recognition. The introduction of these subjects into the curriculum was a belated recognition of the ampler cultural heritage of the times. It was in line with the tendency to turn over to institutions of learning functions which could not be adequately cared for in life outside the schools.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Shakespeare probably never saw an English grammar. How do you account for the excellence of his English?
2. Compare Franklin's program of studies suggested for the Philadelphia Academy (see his *Proposals Relating to the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania*) with that of some high school that you know.
3. Compare the motives for teaching the "practical branches of the mathematick" with the motive now advanced for the teaching of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry.
4. Make a further study of the type of education thought to be suitable for a girl in pre-Revolutionary days.
5. Why did the colonists study the modern languages? Do we study them for the same reasons?

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1790-1860



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CHAPTER SIX

Liberalism in Education

CHURCH-DOMINATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN NEW ENGLAND

Although Puritanism contributed the idea of education of the masses at the expense of the state, the New England church did not conceive of education for citizenship in the sense in which we understand the phrase today. The schools were designed neither to promote the greater glory of the state nor to enhance the individual's worth either to himself or to the state. If the good of the state was considered at all, it was merely with a view to strengthening the civil government, as the church's temporal and subsidiary ally. If the interests of the individual were thought of, it was his welfare in the life to come that was uppermost in mind. So whatever any of the Puritan commonwealths did for the cause of education, they did for the church.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT

To understand how the present concept of education for citizenship came about it is necessary to understand certain fundamental changes in political theory that were taking place in Europe and America during the latter half of the eighteenth century. These changes had to do chiefly with the relationship of the middle and lower classes to the governing authority. French, English, and American thinkers contributed to the new current of thought, now known as liberalism, which was destined to be reinterpreted now and again as the concept of democracy evolved.

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Prior to the eighteenth century, government had been administered by a privileged class which inherited its power and passed it along to the next generation. The masses of the people had no voice in the government, nor were they expected to, for without experience or training for the responsibilities of ruling, there was no hope (according to current opinion) that they would govern wisely or well. And granted, indeed, that the people should justly share in the government and that they should be trained to exercise the rights of citizenship, how, it was asked, was the innate stupidity of the lower classes to be overcome? For the masses were not thought to be improvable by education. On this point the attitude of the aristocracy toward the common people was precisely that of a superior race toward an inferior. If the point of view, as stated, were correct—and for centuries it went unchallenged—the welfare of the state and of society as a whole would most logically be promoted by an intelligent ruling class, left free to govern as it chose. Such was the justification of the existing social order.

When experience showed that a privileged class tended to administer the government in its own interest rather than for the common good, the masses began to question entrenched privileges, and a group of radical philosophers now championed the rights of the people. Among the earliest of these was John Locke, who set forth the theory that all men are born free and equal and not subject to government without their consent.¹ The brilliant Frenchman, Jean Jacques Rousseau, reiterated Locke's opinion with fascinating literary effect, and Thomas Jefferson inscribed substantially the same thought in the American Declaration of Independence, when he wrote as follows:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or

¹ John Locke, *Of Civil Government*, E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, pp. 118, 145, 177.

to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .

THE DOCTRINE OF "INDEFINITE PERFECTIBILITY"

When the revolutionary thinkers sought to vest the powers of government in the hands of the people it became necessary for them to justify their assumption by declaring their faith in the capacity of the people to rule. If the masses were indeed inherently stupid and incapable of improvement, as many supposed, there could, of course, be no justification of their position. But the philosophers argued to the contrary, and forthwith proclaimed the doctrine of "indefinite perfectibility" of the human race. They further declared that the state was obligated to provide education for the improvement of the people. The French public official, La Chalotais, in his *Essay on National Education* (1763) expressed the new point of view in these words: "If humanity is susceptible of a certain degree of perfection, it is by means of education that it can reach it."²

The Revolutionary leader, Condorcet, in proposing the establishment of a national school system for France, gave in 1792 a clear exposition of the theory. He wrote:

To offer to all individuals of the human race the means of providing for their needs, of assuring their welfare, of knowing and exercising their rights, of understanding and fulfilling their obligations.

To assure each one the facility of perfecting his skill, of rendering himself capable of the social functions to which he has the right to be called, of developing to the fullest extent those talents with which nature has endowed him; and thereby to establish among all citizens an actual equality, thus rendering real the political equality recognized by the law.

This should be the first aim of any national education; and,

² Quoted in François de la Fontainerie, *French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1932, p. 44.

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from such a point of view, this education is for the government an obligation of justice.³

The French Revolutionaries made several attempts to establish a national school system on these principles. Although their efforts were unsuccessful, the attendant propaganda served to establish the new doctrine as the fundamental theory of democratic government. Soon the ideas spread to England, to Germany, to Spain, and to America, serving as the ferment of the great romantic movement, which was to revolutionize political, social, and cultural life throughout the civilized world.

In all this there was a clear implication (1) that Nature has distributed gifts of genius among all classes of society, and, in view of this fact, (2) that each individual should be free to develop his inherited powers to the fullest extent; (3) that the state should provide for the general diffusion of knowledge so as to insure an equal opportunity to all; and (4) that the state, in the interest of its own perpetuity, should see that all are educated to exercise properly the rights of citizenship.

THE NEW THOUGHT AND FRONTIER PHILOSOPHY

Americans were keenly attentive to the new theory emanating from Europe. In fact, the germ of that philosophy had long pervaded the frontier. Though the pioneer had read few books, he was reaching the same conclusions from the dictionary of daily experience. Though he hardly knew he had a philosophy, in his attitude toward life he was quite abreast of the best thought of the time. Had he not been taught from infancy to depend upon his native powers and to exercise his natural rights? "Rugged individualism" was taken for granted among all red-blooded pioneers. Hence when Jefferson, Franklin, and Thomas Paine began to preach the new theory, it was a doctrine well within the power of the average man to comprehend.⁴

³ *Ibid.*, p. 323. A quotation from Condorcet.

⁴ For an illuminating account of the romantic movement in America, see Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, Vol. II, *The Romantic Revolution in America (1800-1860)*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1927.

LIBERALISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

The period between the close of the Revolutionary War and 1800 was an era of great anxiety to the patriots engaged in setting up the new government. Deeply infused with the spirit of the times, they were determined that the American commonwealth should not perpetuate the evils of the traditional social order. But without the guidance of modern precedent they were forced to devise practical expedients in accord with their purposes.

We are chiefly interested in the contributions of those who saw in the problem the implications for education. The task was not an easy one, but many able minds enlisted in the service. The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia offered a prize for the best essay outlining a plan for a national system of public schools. Many, including Robert Coram, James Sullivan, Samuel Knox, Samuel H. Smith, Lafitte du Coureil, and Du Pont de Nemours wrote essays, as did Benjamin Rush, upon the theme suggested in his *Thoughts upon the Mode of Education proper in a Republic*⁵ (1786). The tenor of all these essays was similar to that voiced earlier by the French theorists.

NOAH WEBSTER'S CONTRIBUTION

The ablest and most influential contributor to this cause was the stalwart patriot who has been called the "Schoolmaster to America," Noah Webster. Between 1785 and 1794 Webster published numerous essays and miscellaneous writings on education. He was deeply convinced that the form of education employed in colonial times, if continued, would perpetuate the traditions of the old monarchical governments. He advocated, instead, the thorough indoctrination of youth in the principles of American democracy. "As soon as he opens his lips," wrote Webster, "he should rehearse the history of his own country; he should lisp the praise of liberty, and of those illustrious heroes and

⁵ The ideas of these men are set forth at considerable length in Allen O. Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926.

statesmen, who have wrought a revolution in her favor.”⁶ Webster forthwith began to collect specimens of literature relating to the geography, history, institutions, and government of this country to be used in a new school curriculum. Such a course of study, he held, would not only promote the growth of democratic ideals but would result in the development of a distinctive American character.

Basic to the inculcation of democratic principles was the standardization of the language forms used in America. Since there were no textbooks by native authors for this purpose, Webster set himself the task of writing them. His effort met with remarkable success. In 1784 he published his *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* in three parts.

THE “BLUEBACK SPELLER”

Part I was the famous “blueback speller,” entitled *Elementary Spelling Book*, a combination primer, reader, and speller which became the first and only textbook many children ever studied. In the word lists, the author began with such syllables, as *pra, pre, pri*, and so on, and, in the final pages, included numerous unusual technical terms of five and six syllables. The sentences offered for exercises in reading were supposed to give the child useful information of moral, scientific, or political value. The blueback speller leapt into immediate popularity. Its fame spread through all states. For the first three quarters of the nineteenth century it was almost universally used in this country, the sales amounting to a million copies or more in certain years. It is estimated that not less than 80,000,000 copies have been sold since its publication 150 years ago. On the strength of the blueback speller’s record alone, Webster may well be called the Schoolmaster to America.⁷

Part II of the *Grammatical Institute* was an English grammar. This book did much to popularize the teaching of a subject that was just entering the schools at that time. It was widely used for a few

⁶ *On Education of the Youth in America*, 1788, p. 23. Quoted in Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁷ Harry R. Warfel, *Noah Webster, Schoolmaster to America*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936.

years, but after 1800 it gave way to newer texts, chiefly those of Lindley Murray.

Part III was a reader containing selections of moral and practical value and "pieces" for the schoolboy's declamations. The *Grammatical Institute* in its entirety carried out what the author conceived to be his patriotic obligation.

JEFFERSON'S PLAN FOR EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

Thomas Jefferson was the leading propagandist of the new thought in this country. He kept abreast of his times by reading the best contemporary works on economic and political theory and studied conditions at first hand in France. A devout believer in democratic government, he clearly saw that it could not possibly succeed without proper education of the people. Accordingly he addressed himself to the task of devising a plan for a public school system in his native state, Virginia.

In 1779, when serving as a member of the legislature of that state, he proposed a bill setting forth his ideas. He recommended that each county of the state be divided into school districts or "hundreds," each five or six miles square, and that each district maintain a school to which all parents would send their children free of charge for three years. At the end of this period he advised that the brightest boy (of poor parents) be selected from each district school to be sent to one of the twenty grammar schools "teaching Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic." At the end of the six-year course in the grammar schools the less promising half of the pupils were to conclude their education, and the remaining superior half were to be sent to William and Mary College to receive a higher education at the expense of the state. By this means Jefferson hoped to provide education for the geniuses whom he had "raked from the rubbish."

Notwithstanding the fact that Jefferson's plan seemed to be cheap enough and otherwise practical, it failed to be enacted into law. Although it was founded on democratic principles that were quite advanced for those times, many people today would probably condemn it on the ground that it was not at all democratic, as we have come to understand the term. Jefferson thought that parents who were able

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should pay for the secondary and higher education of their children. His plan seemed to imply that the state should select promising young men and train them for the responsibilities of leadership later to be entrusted to them by a people not wise enough to rule themselves but quite capable of recognizing such ability in others.⁸

SPANISH SCHOOLS IN LOUISIANA

It is a singular historical fact that the first attempt to put the liberal theory of education into practice within the present limits of the United States was made by the Spanish king, Charles III, in the province of Louisiana. This colony had been ceded by France to Spain in 1762, but the French inhabitants of Louisiana were restive under their new masters. Charles, who was conversant with Parisian philosophy, undertook to dissolve the deeply embedded allegiance of the native population to Gallic ideals by means of schools which would teach religion, the Spanish language, and loyalty to the Spanish crown. Accordingly, in 1771, he sent over a director and three teachers with orders to establish primary and secondary schools at public expense. At least one of the so-called Royal Schools was established in New Orleans and remained in operation until the American occupation in 1803.⁹ Charles later established similar schools in Texas and California. He was obviously employing a most enlightened policy of colonial administration to promote the ends of nationalism. In this respect he was far in advance of English colonial policy. Throughout American colonial history there is not an instance in which England employed education as a means of promoting good relations between the mother country and the colonies.

⁸ Charles F. Arrowood, *Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1930, Chap. IV. Jefferson's own account of his early efforts for schools in Virginia. Also, Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1931. Appendix A quotes "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," 1779.

⁹ "Document Relating to the Establishment of Schools in Louisiana 1771." Translated and edited by David Bjork, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI, 561-569. Also, Stuart G. Noble, "Early School Superintendents in New Orleans," *Journal of Educational Research* (Nov., 1931) or Stuart G. Noble and Arthur G. Nuhrah, "Education in Colonial Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, October, 1949.

EDUCATION IN THE EARLY STATE CONSTITUTIONS

Immediately after the signing of the Declaration of Independence the colonies began to set up independent state governments. In drafting their constitutions many of the new states recognized the necessity of establishing public schools. Thus, the Constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted September 28, 1776, declared:

A school or schools shall be established in each county by the legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct the youth at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities.

Almost the same wording was used in the Constitution of North Carolina, adopted later in the same year, and in the Vermont document, adopted in 1777. The statement in the Constitution of Massachusetts, dating from 1780, is perhaps a better exposition of the relation of democratic government to education. In part it reads as follows:

Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; . . .¹⁰

EDUCATION IN THE ORDINANCES OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

Before the adoption of the federal Constitution, Congress authorized by the Ordinance of 1785 that the territory now embraced largely

¹⁰ This excerpt and other quotations from early state constitutions may be found in the *Report* of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1892-1893, Vol. II, Part III, Chap. 1.

by the Eastern North-Central states be surveyed into townships six miles square and that the sixteenth section (640 acres) of each township be reserved for schools. Later this action was reaffirmed by the Ordinance of 1787, which went on further to declare that: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." From this action it is clear that the statesmen of the Revolutionary period felt that education should move apace with the development of the country.

ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN STATESMEN

The founders of the nation were quite generally convinced that the success of the young republic rested on the education of the people for the responsibilities of self-government. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison, John Jay, and Francis Marion expressed themselves to this effect. In fact, both conservatives and liberals were in accord on this subject. Perhaps the most comprehensive statement comes from Washington himself, who, in a message to Congress dated January 8, 1790, set forth his opinion in these words:

Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways; by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; . . .¹¹

EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

While the federal government was in the formative stage there was a considerable sentiment in favor of establishing a national uni-

¹¹ *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1892-1893, Vol. II, Part III, Chap. 1, p. 1296. Quoted from Jared Sparks, The Life and Writings of George Washington, Vol. II, p. 9.*

versity. Benjamin Rush probably originated the movement, about which several essays were written. The matter of giving recognition to education in the Constitution was brought up for discussion in the Convention of 1787 when Charles Pinckney of South Carolina proposed that a national university, free from religious control, be established at the seat of government. The discussion was dismissed, apparently because it was felt that the right to establish such an institution was implied in other provisions of the Constitution.

Washington advised the founding of the university in his message to Congress in 1790 and frequently thereafter expressed his desire that the foundations be laid. He even went so far as to select a site for the prospective institution within the present limits of the city of Washington, and on his death bequeathed as an endowment fifty shares in the Potomac Company, valued by him at about \$25,000. In the minds of many, including Washington, there was the conviction that this university should be an institution for advanced study in the field of the arts, sciences, and literature, which should furnish higher education for the coming leaders of the nation.

Congress in these years was pressed with the business of shaping the course of the young republic, so that, in spite of Washington's solicitude, it took no action. Possibly the time was not ripe for such an institution. At any rate, nothing was done, and to this day no one knows what became of Washington's bequest.¹² The idea later received the endorsement of the National Education Association, but to no effect.

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK ORGANIZED

The first substantial effort to establish a system of schools in line with the new theory was made in New York. Here, under acts of 1784 and 1787, the legislature vested in one body, the State Board of Regents, the control of Columbia College and a number of academies located in different places throughout the state. This organization constituted

¹² A good summary of the agitation for a national university is to be found in Carl W. Tvedt, "A Brief History of a National University," *School and Society* (Jan. 10, 1931), pp. 42-47; Edgar W. Knight, *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860: Toward Educational Independence*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1950, II, 8-40. Reprints important documents relating to the national university.

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what has been known ever since as the University of the State of New York. It was not then, nor is it now, a university in the sense in which we understand the term but rather a state board of education.

Alexander Hamilton and Ezra L'Hommedieu were instrumental in organizing the new institution, but the idea was not original with them. By the time of its adoption in New York, the plan had become an accepted French tradition. Originating probably in the proposals of René de la Chalotais for a secular system of schools in France (1763), the idea had been developed further by Rolland in a report to the Parliament of Paris (1768) and had been incorporated by Diderot in his *Plan for a University* (1776), prepared at the request of Catherine II of Russia. The idea, however, was not put into practice until it was adopted as the plan for the University of the State of New York.¹³ Several other American states soon followed New York in employing this type of organization.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Before the University of the State of New York had become well organized, the establishment of the University of Georgia was authorized by the legislature of that state (1785). It was to consist of a college or seminary of learning and a number of county academies, all under a central administrative board. Several of the academies were opened without much delay but it was not until 1800 that a college supplied the capstone of the system.

NEW THEORY AND PRACTICE IN LOUISIANA

When William C. C. Claiborne became governor of the Territory of Louisiana after the purchase of that vast domain from Napoleon, he directed his attention immediately to education. Tutored as Claiborne was in the political thought of Jefferson, Madison, and Jay, he conceived of the public school as the necessary instrument for preparing the heterogeneous population of the territory for democratic citizen-

¹³ Napoleon used the plan for the organization of the Imperial University of France in 1808.

ship. With this in view he instigated legislation which led to the establishment of the University of the Territory of Orleans and to sporadic primary schools.¹⁴

The University, authorized by the Legislative Council in 1805, did not materialize in any of its branches before 1811. The plan of organization was borrowed from the University of the State of New York and contemplated the establishment of a system of county academies for each sex, with the College of the City of New Orleans at the head. The college was opened in 1812, and several of the academies began instruction some time later. Owing to the reluctance of the legislature to provide sufficient funds, and to other causes, the system amounted to little and was finally abolished in 1826.¹⁵ The effort was just another of the faltering steps by which the American people have groped their way to the conviction that public education is an obligation of any self-governing commonwealth.

RÉSUMÉ

To some of our readers, the preceding discussion of principles that underlie public education in America may seem self-evident. It is now the almost universal belief that the democratic state can be perpetuated only by the education of the masses and that children should be prepared for the duties of citizenship in schools maintained at public expense, but one hundred and sixty years ago the idea was new. The republican form of government was also new, and democracy was an ideal that many aspired to, but few expected immediately to realize.

The period was one of experimentation. Many hopeful suggestions were made—some brilliant and idealistic, others more practical. Out of the welter of ideas emerged the doctrine of indefinite perfectibility which has come to be applied not only to human nature but to social institutions as well. The conviction that the state should provide equal opportunity for individual development and prepare the people of all

¹⁴ The Territory of Orleans comprised lands later included within the boundaries of the present state of Louisiana.

¹⁵ Stuart G. Noble, "Governor Claiborne and the Public School System of the Territorial Government of Louisiana," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (Oct., 1928); also "Public Schools of New Orleans during the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century," *ibid.* (Jan., 1931).

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social and economic levels to exercise their natural rights to govern themselves was later to be firmly established.

This philosophy of democratic society was the contribution of the period. Unfortunately there was hardly any advance in putting the new liberal theory into practice. State constitutions empowered the legislatures to set up schools, but the legislatures obeyed tardily, if at all. The period was rich in promise for education, but the struggle for fulfillment is the history of education from that day to this.

There was one significant practical advance—the textbooks written by Noah Webster. Webster's robust patriotism sensed the need of a common language for the people of the nation and sought to satisfy it by standardizing spelling and other language forms. Seeing the necessity for indoctrinating children with the ideals of the new democracy if the republican form of government was to survive, he patterned his speller, reader, and grammar accordingly. Many succeeding writers borrowed his theory and planned textbooks on his models.

Institutionalized education had before this time been regarded as a responsibility either of the church or of the family, and in its upper reaches it was available only to the privileged classes. Now, with the recognition of citizenship as a goal, public education definitely became a responsibility of the state. Since the voices of the masses were now to be heard in the government, the obligation of the state was to be extended to include provisions for the education of all at public expense. Following the liberal theory of the period, America later came to institutionalize training for citizenship. Upon this basis was laid the foundation of our system of universal free public schools. The next chapter gives an account of the early efforts to put this theory into practice.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Delve further into the question as to whether or not the American idea of public education originated in New England during the seventeenth century.
2. Some people today contend that it is a waste of money to undertake to educate Negroes, Indians, Mexicans, and certain other underprivileged groups in our population. Note that the same argument was used against the education of the masses of white people in the eighteenth century. Prepare to discuss this question.
3. Was American individualism bred by frontier life, or was the idea transplanted

from France? Read Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, Vol. II, *The Romantic Revolution in America* (1800–1860).

4. Prepare a brief biography of Noah Webster.
5. Secure a copy of the famous blueback speller and make a brief digest of its contents.
6. Discuss the question as to whether Jefferson's idea of selecting bright children to be trained for leadership is democratic.
7. Make a further study of Washington's interest in education.
8. Why do you think the federal government was reluctant to establish a national university? Do you think this would have been a wise step?
9. Compare the educational ideas of Washington, Jefferson, John Adams, Madison, and Jay. Is there any essential difference in them?
10. What evidence is there that Georgia and Louisiana borrowed the idea of a university consisting of a college and a number of academies under a central board of control from the University of the State of New York?

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Education during the First Forty Years of the Republic

CONSERVATIVE VS. LIBERAL POLICY

The years immediately following the Revolution were years of stocktaking. Patriots of the rank and file now faced, for the first time, the reality of their dearly bought freedom. While the unthinking masses were throwing their hats into the air with wild enthusiasm over the victory, sober gentlemen in private conversation were inquiring of one another what it all portended.

The Revolution, which had begun as an economic controversy, had been fomented by the importation of French radicalism. Liberty and independence had proved an effective slogan for moving the masses to war, and now the common people looked expectantly forward to the founding of a utopia in which to enjoy the fruits of their imagination. But how was such a government to be practically achieved? This question threw men into a quandary from which, as is usual in such crises, there soon emerged two parties, the conservative and the liberal.

It is easy to understand the psychology of the conservatives, who were shortly to be known as Federalists, and somewhat later as Whigs. Men of such character could not easily shake off old customs and thought trends. Cautious and levelheaded, they had fought for a return of the liberties to which they had been accustomed. They asked to be secure in their property rights and in the privileges of their social

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class. Further, they were alarmed by the peril of proletarianism, and cited the tragic excesses of the French Revolution as a horrible example of what might happen in this country if the people were permitted too free a hand in the conduct of the government. They could not envisage social security except through the administration of a government conducted by the able, the rich, and the wise. Nor could they conceive of the jurisdiction of government as extending further than the protection of the individual in his right to live and hold property. In general, they opposed taxation for purposes other than the maintenance of an effective police. It is well for the reader to bear in mind this characterization of the early American conservative, for the type is a perennial, constantly present in the succeeding history of public education.

Included among the liberals were all others, representing shades of opinion varying from those who were not, strictly speaking, conservatives, to those who were frankly radical in point of view. Roughly, they fell into two classes: first, the idealistic thinkers of the type of Jefferson and Freneau, who saw in the Revolution an opportunity to establish a new social order in which sovereignty would be vested in the people; and second, poor men of independent spirit, on the frontier and elsewhere, who sincerely believed that the Revolution had earned for them, as well as for the propertied class, equality of rights and privileges. In temper, all were democratic; in politics, all were old-time republicans of the school of Jefferson. They had the pioneer's individualism and sense of self-sufficiency. Unhampered by tradition, they were ready to blaze new trails to the social frontier. Though unorganized at first and lacking in leadership, liberals were to be found everywhere but chiefly in the West, where the mode of living had bred a spirit of independence. This type is also a perennial.

The conservatives, representing "gentlemen of property and privilege," claimed the traditional right of the old aristocracy to lead. Over the protest of the liberals they established themselves in power. They acquired control of local affairs in most of the states. With the election of Washington as president, and of John Adams, eight years later, they were enabled to direct federal policy during these critical years. Into the councils of the new nation they brought astute men, temperate and talented, seasoned by experience with large affairs. Under their guid-

ance the radicals were held in check until the foundations of republican government could be securely laid.

CONSERVATISM IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter we saw that post-Revolutionary theory voiced no reservations with regard to public education. The prevailing sentiment found expression in the declaration, "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."¹ The fine theory of a democratic state perpetually renewing itself through the progressive education of its citizens was a widespread belief. Several of the state constitutions, in fact, ordered their respective legislatures to establish schools. Yet it was nearly fifty years before effective school systems came to be set up. What is the explanation of this delay? Evidently practical administration proved to be quite a different thing from liberal theory, and enthusiasm for public schools waned when the propertied class, in control of government, counted the costs and speculated on the increase of taxes. The educational history of the period, therefore, is an account of the early efforts to provide schools at the least expense.

I. IN THE OLDER STATES

THE DISTRICT SCHOOL IN MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts, which had long been accustomed to lead in educational affairs, exhibited the general enthusiasm for schools but showed little readiness to enact really effective legislation. The school law of 1789, which Horace Mann many years later condemned with great asperity, merely legalized the district schools. In this there was no advance. The law was simply the culmination of a pernicious tendency which had been in process for some years.

Since the district school is to figure prominently in future history, it is in order to devote a few paragraphs to the story of its origin. The New England town in the beginning, reproducing the old English village, was usually a small, compact settlement occupying a territory

¹ Ordinance of 1787.

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extending several miles beyond the limits of a village. This organization, constituting a social, religious, and civil unit, was required to maintain a school under the laws of 1642 and 1647. The town school was at first supported in large part by tuition fees; later by pro-rata assessments (called "rates") on parents whose children attended the schools; and still later, in some of the towns, by a general property tax.

In the course of time population increased, and the people took up farmlands in the outlying territory. Many, living at a distance from the village, were now unable, particularly in bad weather, to send their children to the town school which they were taxed to support. These asked the town authorities to share school facilities with them. After much insistence, the town usually consented to have the schoolmaster divide his time, teaching a few weeks in each of the rural communities. This makeshift, known as the "moving school," for obvious reasons proved unsatisfactory to all parties. Finally the outlying communities asked the town for their portion of the property tax and agreed to maintain their own "district" schools independently of the town.²

The law of 1789 destroyed the old town system of administration under which strong schools had developed in certain places. It substituted the district type of organization in which elementary schools were made mandatory in the less populous communities, and secondary schools in the more populous. Under this and the succeeding law of 1801, responsibility for each school was vested in a local committee, empowered to raise money by taxation, to select the teacher, to determine the details of instruction, and to exercise general supervision. The local minister was designated to pass upon the teacher's qualifications. In the administration of this law, school committees were too often composed of men of small ability, unable to discharge effectively the obligations of their office, and many of the districts were too poor to maintain respectable schools, even under prudent management. So the schools ran down. During the next few decades they were, to use the words of a contemporary, George B. Emerson, "wretchedly poor." Public secondary schools in particular declined, and the more substantial part of the population sent their children to private academies. It may be added,

² For the student interested in the development of school administration, a good detailed account of this process of evolution is to be found in E. P. Cubberley, *State School Administration*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1927, Chap. VI.

however, that though the quality remained poor, the schools distributed elementary instruction quite widely.

SLOW PROGRESS IN OTHER NEW ENGLAND STATES

The district school developed in Connecticut in much the same way as in Massachusetts. School "societies" were authorized to conduct schools in their respective parishes or districts, and the authority of the larger unit (town) was dispensed with. When in 1795 the state received from the federal government its share of the proceeds from the sale of Western Reserve lands in Ohio, amounting to \$1,200,000, the sum was placed to the credit of the common school fund. The interest on this amount, together with other funds, enabled the state to make generous distributions to the schools. State support, however, proved inadequate without local assistance, which was not always possible because of a provision of the law which freed the district from the obligation of raising money by taxation. As Henry Barnard said, "the results were disastrous."³

With the adoption of the district system, the towns were no longer obligated to maintain Latin grammar schools, and these institutions declined in number and efficiency. The new form of organization, however, led to a more general distribution of elementary school facilities. It is said that the three R's were well taught, and that there were few natives of Connecticut "who could not read the Holy Word of God and the good laws of the State."⁴

The other New England states followed the lead of Massachusetts and Connecticut in adopting the district school system and with the same results.

NEW YORK STATE SLOW TO PROVIDE FOR SCHOOLS

New York state hesitantly approached the problem of providing free schools. The legislature of 1795, on the recommendation of Governor George Clinton, enacted a law appropriating \$100,000 annually

³ *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1892-1893, Vol. II, 1253-1255.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

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from the state treasury in aid of schools, and within three years 1350 schools were established, enrolling nearly 60,000 pupils. Yet the system is said to have "broken down," and state aid was discontinued in 1800. When a new school law was passed in 1812, New York, following the example of New England, turned to the district system, and in 1814 authorized charging rates of all who were able to pay. It is easy to infer that the property owners, in this instance, were not yet willing to acknowledge the right of the state to levy taxes sufficient to make the schools free to all.

PAUPER SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania continued in the grip of colonial policy. Here the Quakers, Mennonites, Lutherans, and other sects had long maintained schools for their respective congregations. Tradition had ordained that every man should pay for the education of his children out of his private funds, and sentiment still ran strong against the levying of taxes for school purposes. The liberal provision of the Constitution of 1776 (see p. 117) proved too far advanced and in 1790 was modified to read as follows: "The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such a manner that the poor may be taught gratis."

This mandate was not acted upon before 1809. The law passed at that time authorized the payment of tuition fees for poor children out of public funds. Parents were required to declare themselves to be paupers before their children became eligible for free tuition. No free schools were established before 1818, when the legislature empowered the city and county of Philadelphia to open "schools for poor children." Thus the pauper-school principle was entrenched in public policy. No further change took place before 1834.

In New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland conditions were similar to those in Pennsylvania, and little or nothing was done before the second decade of the new century. Legislation in these states reflected the theory that responsibility for education falls first upon the church and family, and only in the case of the poor does the obligation rest upon the state. The tardy response to advanced theory is further illustrated in the practice of the Southern states.

FREE SCHOOLS FOR THE POOR IN THE SOUTH

In Virginia, theory advanced with a bound, while practice loitered by the way. After the failure of Jefferson's ambitious scheme in 1779, the issue was raised again in 1797, and public schools were actually authorized under the law of that year. But the problem of securing funds for opening the new institutions furnished the usual obstacle. The matter of school support was left to the option of the county magistrates, who were able, in most cases, to educate their own children privately. As a result no public schools were founded. The establishment of the Literary Fund in 1810 showed a continuing interest in public education, but the revenue arising from this source amounted to little, and disbursements from the fund turned out to be merely subsidies to the counties in aid of pauper schools.⁵ Thus, Jefferson's native state pursued the *laissez faire* of colonial policy when it might have leapt to leadership. The same conditions that kept Virginia back operated in South Carolina. In both states taxable wealth was in the hands of a few people who usually administered the affairs of the state and local governments. This state in 1811 repeated the experience of Virginia when it enacted what appeared to be a comprehensive public school law—a law which later proved to be just another form of poor relief.⁶

Georgia devoted most of her attention to schools of secondary grade, but in time came also to recognize an obligation to provide free elementary schools for the poor.

North Carolina found an intelligent leader in the person of Archibald D. Murphey, who proposed a plan of education similar to that which had been outlined by Jefferson. The state established a Literary Fund in 1825, but was unwilling to finance Murphey's forward-looking program.

THE RISE OF THE ACADEMY

Opportunities for instruction of secondary grade were now furnished almost exclusively by private or quasi-public academies. In New

⁵ Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1922, pp. 123–129.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 129–133.

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England these institutions took the place of the old town grammar schools which had been impoverished almost to the point of extinction by the rise of the district school. Great numbers of academies sprang up in the other states; in the eight Atlantic states it is estimated that there were 102 by 1800, and 449 by 1840, but these figures are far too low for the country as a whole.⁷ Although the academy movement continued until about 1860, the treatment of the topic belongs to the period embraced by the present discussion.

In this connection the Census of 1840 furnishes illuminating evidence.⁸ It is clear, after one makes due allowance for inaccuracies in collecting the data for the census in that early period, that the stronghold of the academy was in the Northeastern and Middle Atlantic states. This does not occasion surprise, but it is interesting to observe at the same time that Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia compared favorably with the Northern states in number of academies and in enrollment of students. It also appears that, contrary to current opinion, the South Central states—Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana—had more academies and students than did Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.⁹ The academy was to spread still further, and by 1860 it was making a fairly adequate provision for the secondary education of those able to pay the tuition fees.

Maryland began the organization of quasi-public academies in several counties before the close of the colonial era. Pennsylvania, as early as 1785, debated the organization of a county system similar to that of New York and Georgia (see p. 120). This state somewhat later extended aid to academies in such towns as Gettysburg, Chester, Erie, and Allentown, and exercised some slight control over their operation.¹⁰ New York began to extend aid to the members of the university system in 1813 and by 1830 was apportioning as much as \$10,000 annually among fifty-seven academies. Georgia's academies prospered under lib-

⁷ Edwin G. Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904, p. 94.

⁸ Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, XXIV, 171 f., quotes the school statistics from the Census of 1840.

⁹ If area, population, and date of admission to the Union are considered, the South Central states are found to have been ahead of the North Central states in facilities and students.

¹⁰ James Mulhern, *History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, published by the author, Philadelphia, 1933, pp. 226-230.

eral land grants, and there were more than one hundred by 1830. Other states made generous donations to their academies.

In addition to the academies just mentioned, which as a class enjoyed the bounty of the state and recognized the state's authority to a limited degree, there was a much more numerous group, consisting of incorporated institutions under the sponsorship of benevolent individuals, local communities, or religious denominations. These were to be found everywhere. The articles of incorporation in certain cases required that a specified number of pupils should be taught gratis. Many of these became substantial institutions and rendered worthy service for many years.

A third class included "private adventure" schools. The masters of such schools were chiefly interested in earning a livelihood. They frequently sought out communities where school facilities were deficient, secured a schoolroom, and advertised for pupils. Often they catered to vocational interests, fads, or fancies in their eagerness to attract paying scholars. The instruction offered was usually of mediocre quality, and such schools were almost invariably short-lived. Some failed through incompetent management, and others were closed when their masters acquired enough money to enter business or agriculture.

Academies were tuition schools. All pupils were expected to pay unless they were cared for by scholarships set apart for the poor. They were boarding schools, usually for boys only, but, by this time, there were a few "female" academies, particularly in the South. Coeducation was rare. The courses of study when drawn up by the master and the board of trustees usually reflected the desires of the community. There was much variability in curriculums, but the subjects necessary for college entrance were usually included.

Looking back over the era of the academy from the vantage point of the present, one may, on first thought, be tempted to make a disparaging appraisal of its contribution. Mature consideration of the environment of that day, however, leads one to the conviction that the academy probably was the most effective solution of the secondary school problem that could have been worked out. In the first place, the taxable resources of even the wealthiest state would then have proved utterly inadequate for the support of secondary schools free and available to all. In the second place, considering the fact that over 80 per

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cent of the total population were living on scattered farms, the boarding-school feature furnished the best practicable means of providing secondary schooling for children of the farming people. Finally, the lack of a standardized curriculum was itself a virtue, for without rigid restrictions as to content and method, the masters were free to introduce new subjects or to experiment with new teaching devices. Hence the academy should not be regarded as the emblem of private interest in a period before interest in public support of schools had reached a high point; rather it should be thought of as a practical solution of the knotty problem of securing secondary education by any means at all. It represents the survival of the idea that the individual should bear the responsibility for the education of his children, an idea that was but slowly giving way.

EARLY FORMS OF SCHOOL SUPPORT

Aversion to a general property tax for schools was general everywhere. In lieu of such support recourse was had to taxes on liquors, billiard halls, marriage licenses, and so forth. The most common means of raising money was by lottery. This was the favorite device employed in the Middle and Southern states where, before the second quarter of the century, even the religious denominations found little or no objection to its use. When schools, academies, or colleges wished to raise money in this way, the usual procedure was to apply to the state legislature for permission. If the project met with approval, the state authorized the lottery and sometimes supervised it. Numerous academies and colleges, including such outstanding institutions as Columbia University and the University of North Carolina, were, in the beginning, aided by this device which is now almost universally condemned in this country.¹¹

CITY SCHOOL SOCIETIES

A significant reflection upon the status of education in the period 1790-1830 is to be found in the fact that certain large cities such as New

¹¹ Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1934, pp. 248-252.

Inventory of the furniture belonging to the
York County Academy. Nov. 7th 1854

Male Department

- 24 double Desks & one single do for Teacher
2 single Desks 7 Stools, one Arm chair and
3 common do. 9 Short Benches. Platform &
2 circular Benches - 1 long Bench
2 New Globes and Glass case.
1 Large map of the World
1 do do of United States & 1 smaller do
1 Large Black-board.
2 Cannon Stoves & pipe & drum with each.

Female Department

- 13 double Desks, with hinges, 11 single do.
{ 2 long do. The one five lids with hinges, the other three do.
(lately fitted up & repaired by Mr. Prince - required
a good deal repairing.)
One Large Desk for Teacher & Platform, now in the
room occupied by the
Geological Society }

23 Stools

- 1 Tentative Stove with Drum & pipe -
1 long Table (a good deal broken).
1 Drum for Stove with 9 pieces stove pipe & 2 elbows
2 Globes (old) with stands
2 Frames for Black-boards
1 Arm Chair & 1 common do.
10 Short Benches

Mr. Young claims 6 of the Desks in the Female
department for Mr. Vandyke. To be hereafter
sanctified

Each of the Teachers have now some furniture of their
own in their respective rooms. in the Academy

Philip Singmaster
J. A. Morris

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York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore had no public schools in the present sense of the term. School societies, supported in large part by local subscriptions, maintained schools for the poor in these and other cities. The "New York Free School Society," organized under the leadership of De Witt Clinton in 1805, was the most important of these. This was a non-sectarian organization, chartered to furnish "education for such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for by any religious Society. . . ." During the first half of the century it financed numerous schools, trained teachers, and educated over 600,000 children. The state and city from time to time contributed to the support of its schools, the legislature authorizing the grant of a half-mill tax in 1831. Its work was completed in 1853, when it turned over its buildings and equipment to the New York City School Board for the use of genuinely public schools. In Philadelphia and Baltimore the children of the poor were educated by similar societies, which furnished the nearest approach to public education there.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Sunday schools are also related to the public school movement. As originally organized by Robert Raikes for the children of factory districts in England, in 1783, Sunday schools offered instruction in reading and the Catechism, thus performing a service akin to that of the week-day school. The first schools of this type were introduced into this country before the close of the eighteenth century. They attained a considerable vogue in Virginia, North Carolina, and neighboring states, where they brought the landowners into a better understanding of the wretched condition of the illiterate poor whites. Public schools in time assumed the responsibility for teaching reading, which the Sunday schools abandoned after a few years' trial.

LANCASTRIAN MONITORIAL SCHOOLS

The advent of the monitorial system then being promoted in England by Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Andrew Bell aroused widespread enthusiasm. Under this system, a large number of children, sometimes as many as 1,000, organized under student monitors, could be taught in

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one building by a single master. The per-pupil cost was thus in some cases reduced to less than a fourth of the cost of maintaining a pupil in one of the private schools of that day. At such a figure many were encouraged to believe that the price of schooling was now well within the reach of every state. The governors of New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania exhorted their respective legislatures to adopt public school measures embracing the plan. Philanthropic societies hastened to set up Lancastrian schools. Between 1806, the date of its first appearance in this country, and 1830, the idea spread into practically every state in the union. It appeared in Cincinnati, Louisville, Detroit, and New Orleans, as well as in the older cities of the East and South.

The chief recommendation for this mechanical system, which showed little concern for the immaturity of the child, lay in its devices for cutting down school costs. By use of the plan, one teacher with the aid of monitors could provide schooling for all the children of a community of moderate size. Group recitations, substituted for individual instruction, saved much time. The use of slates and sand tables saved paper, pens, and ink. Wall charts and blackboards made fewer books necessary. Altogether, the cheapness of the plan won friends to the cause of education and did much to stimulate interest among the many who had heretofore believed the cost of public schools prohibitive.

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS IN THE OLDER STATES

Progress toward the development of public school systems was tardy. That taxation was the outstanding issue of the Revolutionary War was still fresh in mind, and the leaders moved cautiously in proposing tax measures for any purpose except protection of life and property. In such laws as were passed by the state legislatures the people of each community were usually given the right to say when, if, or how much they should be taxed. To avoid a property tax, lotteries, land grants, private tuition, and rates were resorted to.

Undoubtedly, the best schools developed in New England and New York, despite the weaknesses of the district unit, which were as apparent then as now. The district schools may have been poor, but they reached great numbers of people and did much to reduce illiteracy. In the Middle and Southern states, repeated efforts to inaugurate com-

prehensive school systems resulted in failure. These states went no further than to provide pauper schools and state aid to academies.

Private academies, with or without state aid, furnished practically the only opportunities for secondary education.

II. IN THE NEWER STATES

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

Even before the close of the Revolutionary War men looked longingly toward the rich lands beyond the Appalachians. With the cessation of hostilities this interest became a contagious craving that spread from New England to Georgia. The poor man saw in these lands, which he might possess for little or nothing, an opportunity to make a fresh start amid more favorable surroundings. The restless person, discontented or disappointed for any cause, looked hopefully to the West. Rich New England capitalists saw ready wealth through speculation in wild lands. And tidewater planters whose fields had been worn out by successive crops of tobacco were now contemplating taking up new lands in Kentucky or western Georgia.

By 1800 a new frontier, picketed by log cabins in small clearings, could be traced from northern Ohio into Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. Boom towns sprang up along the water courses. Lexington, Kentucky, now had 1,789 inhabitants; Pittsburgh, 1,565; Frankfort, 628; Cincinnati, 500; and Nashville, 355. The Southwestern territories were settled more rapidly than were those in the Northwest. The territory embracing the present states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi tripled in population between 1790 and 1800 and by the latter date numbered 335,407 inhabitants. The state of Kentucky now ranked seventh in population among the states of the union, while Ohio had over 45,000 inhabitants.¹² After the opening of free traffic to the mouth of the Mississippi through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the settlement of the Mississippi Valley went forward at an astonishing rate.

¹² The data for this and the preceding paragraph have been derived from Nathaniel W. Stephenson, *A History of the American People*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1934, pp. 314, 348.

NEW STATES REFLECT SENTIMENT OF THE OLD

In general, population moved westward in horizontal lines. Thus, Kentucky and Tennessee were largely settled by the overflow population of Virginia and North Carolina; Mississippi and Alabama by the westward movement from North and South Carolina and Georgia; whereas the currents from New England, the Middle States, and the South merged in the Northwest.

This factor is of more than passing significance, for the settlers in the new territories brought with them their respective types of religion and the social institutions to which they had been accustomed. It will not be unexpected, therefore, to find the district school supported by local rates making an early appearance in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, nor surprising to find the pauper schools of the lower Atlantic states cropping out in Mississippi and Alabama. The sentiment in favor of education, so prevalent in the coastal states as we have already observed, when transplanted in the West, began a lusty growth. But there was borne along with this the same reluctance to levy taxes for school purposes found generally in the older states.

EAGERNESS FOR EDUCATION IN THE WEST

"No other newly occupied country in the whole world's history has ever seen schools established so nearly coincident with the first settlements, nor schools of so high an order in so short a time."¹³ These words by one of the earlier writers of educational history were intended to apply particularly to the states of the old Northwest Territory and the upper Mississippi Valley, but, in a sense, they apply with equal measure to all the new states lying to the West. Pioneers in these lands of opportunity were anxious to remove every barrier that stood in the way of the advancement of their children, and illiteracy was the first impediment to be attacked. Education was now coming to be regarded not as the ornament of a social caste but as the open sesame to democratic citizenship. Although eagerness for education was nowhere so mani-

¹³ Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

fest as on the frontier, it should not be surmised that superior advantages were available from the start.

MICHIGAN TERRITORY.

THIS territory is bounded S. by the state of Ohio and the Indiana territory ; W. by the Illinois territory ; N. and E. by Upper Canada, from which it is separated by a small part of lake Superior, St. Mary's river, Huron lake and river, lake St. Clair and Detroit river. The greatest length from S. E. to N. W. is 500 miles ; from N. E. to S. W. it is 500. The number of square miles, both of land and water, is estimated at 150,000.

The territory is at present divided into four districts. In the south is that of Erie ; next lies the district of Detroit ; next that of Huron ; and in the north, the district of Michilimakinac.

In 1667, Louis XIV. sent a party of soldiers to this territory to protect the French fur traders. The soldiers, between that time and 1688, built a fort at Detroit, and another at Michilimakinac, and soon extended their commerce west of lake Michigan to the Indians on the Mississippi. The war in 1756 dispossessed the French of this territory. It remained in the hands of the British, till the peace of 1763 gave it to the United States, and a governor was appointed in July 1787, for all the territory N. W. of the Ohio. In 1796, the fort of Detroit was ceded by the English to the United States, agreeably to treaty ; and this fine peninsula was formed into a county, called the county of Wayne. In 1805, it received the name of the Michigan territory, was formed into a distinct government, and a governor appointed over it. The country is improving, and when the lands are put on sale, it is thought the population will rapidly increase.

The greater part of the inhabitants of this country are Catholics. The Protestants have no settled minister. The missionaries of the Methodists have made many converts among the lower orders of the people.

According to the census of 1810, the population was as follows :

Erie district	1,540	Huron do.	530
Detroit do.	2,227	Michilimakinac do.	615
			<hr/>
			Total 4,762

Page from Geography Made Easy by Jedediah Morse, 1819

A few concrete details, preliminary to the development of public school systems in these states, are needed to substantiate the generalizations of the foregoing paragraphs.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Private schools everywhere preceded public schools. The Ohio Company, which sponsored the settlement of New Englanders at Marietta, contributed \$200 in 1788 toward the salary of a minister and schoolmaster. Academies were incorporated in increasing numbers after 1803, and within twenty years the "most enterprising towns" in this state had schools "worthy of remembrance."¹⁴

French missionaries were the pioneers of education in the Mississippi Valley. In 1725, the Capuchin Father Raphael of New Orleans addressed the following message to his superior in Paris: "I have just made an establishment for a little school at New Orleans. To direct it I have found a man who knows Latin, Mathematics, drawing [and] singing, and whose handwriting is fairly good."¹⁵ The school here mentioned amounted to little, but its only rival as the first school to be founded in the Mississippi Valley is a Jesuit mission at Kaskaskia, Illinois, supposed to have been established four years earlier. The Ursuline convent at New Orleans has already been alluded to (see p. 74) as the first girls' school to be opened in America. Farther up the Mississippi River, M. Revet established the first school in Indiana in 1793. The Catholic teaching orders were also active in Texas, New Mexico, and California.

Mrs. Jane Coomes is said to have taught the children of the pioneer settlement at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, as early as 1776. Other schools were established shortly thereafter, the most important of which was Transylvania University. When this institution received a grant of 20,000 acres of land in 1783 it was supposed to become a state university, but its early history is that of a denominational academy.

Davidson Academy at Haysboro (now Nashville), Tennessee, was incorporated in 1785 when that state was still a part of North Carolina. This school, which later developed into the University of Nashville, owed its origin to the missionary zeal of Thomas B. Craighead, a Presbyterian preaching teacher graduated from Princeton College. The

¹⁴ Dexter, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁵ *Mississippi Provincial Archives: Publications of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi*, II, 507, Jackson, Miss., 1929.

trail into Tennessee, however, had been blazed five years earlier by Samuel Doak, who had opened a school of the same type at Salem.¹⁶

The prosperous country in the neighborhood of Natchez, Mississippi, where according to Southern custom the planters usually employed tutors for their children, or sent them east to be educated, was ready for schools before the close of the eighteenth century. Here there was a significant interest in the education of girls, and the Reverend David Ker was conducting a girls' school at Natchez as early as 1801. The Elizabeth Female Academy, a Methodist school chartered by the legislature in 1819, conferred degrees, and for this reason some consider it the oldest college for women in the United States. Thirty academies for boys or for girls were chartered before 1830. Others were opened in Alabama, which at this time was a part of Mississippi Territory.

In colonial days the inhabitants of Louisiana sent their children to private schools. After the American occupation, when New Orleans became the social and commercial rendezvous of the Mississippi Valley, there developed a considerable demand for tuition in the English, French, and Spanish languages, accounting, and the graces of the drawing room. To meet these demands there sprang up numerous small adventure schools, some for boys, others for girls. These catered to the desires of the different nationalities present in the local population and, in large part, supplied the needs for schooling during the first quarter of the century.¹⁷

SENTIMENT FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

Education was coupled with democratic citizenship in the minds of most people. Politicians extolled the virtues of the two in the same breath. Governors in most of the states, East, West, and South, were accustomed to deliver encomiums on education in their messages. A case in point is to be found in the address of Acting Governor Cowles Meade before the legislature of the Territory of Mississippi in 1806:

¹⁶ Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1922, pp. 86, 89-90.

¹⁷ Stuart G. Noble, "Schools of New Orleans during the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January, 1931).

Education during the First Forty Years of the Republic

Taught by the experience of centuries, warned by the expiring groans of falling states, cautioned by the miseries of others, let us begin our Young Republic by providing largely and munificently for the general diffusion of knowledge; let the poor be supplied with the means of education; let schools be erected throughout your Territory on such generous terms as will enable every citizen to understand his proper station in society . . . to detect the guise of craft and duplicity, and expose the lurking deceits of the ambitious hypocrite.¹⁸

More self-contained and realistic is the tone of Governor Claiborne's message of the same year to the Territorial Legislature of Louisiana, which is here quoted in part:

The doctrine which prevailed in the ancient republic of Greece with respect to their youth is one which, in my opinion, ought always to be cherished by a free people. The youth should be considered as the property of the state, their welfare should constitute a primary care of the government, and those in power should esteem it an incumbent duty to make such provisions for the improvement of the minds and morals of the rising generation as will enable them to preserve those rights which are destined for their inheritance. I am one of those that admire the plan adopted by some States of the American Union, that of establishing a school in every neighborhood and supporting it by a general tax upon the Society. I should indeed be happy to see a similar policy pursued in this Territory, and a tax which would bear alike on every individual in proportion to his wealth, levied for that purpose.¹⁹

SCHOOL LEGISLATION

Federal land grants to the newer states for education kept the issue of public schools alive during the first quarter of the century. Early school legislation in this area has to do chiefly with efforts of the states

¹⁸ Quoted in William H. Weathersby, *A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi from 1798 to 1860*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921, pp. 24-25.

¹⁹ *Louisiana Gazette*, March 28, 1806.

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to take advantage of their grants. Ohio, on its admission to the union, accepted from the federal government the sixteenth section of every township, authorized in the Ordinance of 1787, but did not attempt to lay off districts or establish schools before 1821. Defects of the law passed that year were to some extent remedied four years later when all townships were required to take action in the matter and taxation for the support of district schools was legalized.²⁰

Indiana, which received the benefit of the sixteenth section grants in 1816, went through practically the same experience as Ohio and soon after 1830 likewise turned to the district plan of administration for a solution.

The provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 were extended in 1803 to the territory lying south of the state of Tennessee. Sixteenth sections were available to Mississippi when it came into the union in 1817, and were administered by the trustees of the respective townships, pretty much as they chose, from 1824 to 1846. Few schools were established and those that were set up derived little benefit from the lands.²¹

In 1806, Congress awarded the sixteenth sections to Tennessee, granted 100,000 acres as an endowment for two prospective colleges, and gave an additional 100,000 acres for academies to be established in each of the counties. Due to the fact that much of this territory had been occupied already, a long dispute over titles ensued, and the schools failed to get the full benefit of the grants. In 1830, Tennessee also adopted the district plan of school administration.²²

The story of the dissipation of land grant funds in these and other states belongs to a later chapter of this book. (See pp. 184–185.)

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHWEST

During this period the best effort in the South was directed toward the development of secondary and higher institutions. While still a territory, Mississippi chartered Jefferson College as a quasi-public institution but left it dependent upon donations and a lottery. The school later

²⁰ Edward A. Miller, *The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1920, pp. 6–11.

²¹ Weathersby, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.

²² Knight, *Public Education in the South*, p. 143.

received the grant of a township from the federal government, but enjoyed the benefit of little revenue from this source.

The University of the Territory of Orleans, with the College of the City of New Orleans and county academies, has already been mentioned (see p. 120). After the abandonment of the college in 1826, several of the academies lingered on for a time with some degree of vitality.

Before 1800 there were more than 30 elementary and secondary schools in Kentucky, each endowed by the legislature with 6,000 acres of land and authorized to raise \$1,000 each by lottery. By 1820 there were 47 in as many counties, some with land endowments twice as large.

In 1806, with a view to utilizing federal land grants, Tennessee chartered 38 county academies. The status of the grants, which long remained undetermined, delayed the opening of some of these academies and prevented altogether the establishment of many of them. Certain schools, however, were securely founded and did good work till the Civil War.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL FUNDS

Following the example of Virginia, Mississippi established a Literary Fund in 1821. As it accumulated over a period of years this fund was invested in stock of the Planters' Bank but was finally lost through failure of the bank in 1839. During the period of its existence dividends were used for the purchase of books and other school supplies for orphans. Tennessee in 1827 undertook to provide a similar fund to be used in paying the tuition fees of poor children from the revenues arising from land grants made available in 1806.

SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENT IN NEWER STATES

There was no dearth of sentiment (sentimentality, perhaps, is a better word) for public education. Many public officials were no doubt sincere in the profession of their faith in education, but when they faced the issue of levying taxes for school support, they lacked the will to act. The result was that responsibility for schooling was left, for the

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most part, with the family and the private school. For a time hope ran high that the land grants would carry the whole burden of education, or at least reduce it to a trifling amount. When this hope was dissipated, some states reluctantly assumed responsibility for the education of the poor; others permitted and later required the communities to cooperate in furnishing district schools. For the West and Southwest the end of the first quarter of the century viewed but the beginning of public education.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Compare the conservatives and liberals of the present day with those of the early nineteenth century.
2. Make an appraisal of the plan of administering schools under the local school district. Is the plan feasible today?
3. Why were people of all sections slow to submit to taxation for school purposes?
4. In the case of several of the older states, show how the colonial policy of school administration carried over into the early national period.
5. Collect and compare the opinions of leading statesmen of this period with reference to the relation of public education to democratic government.
6. What is wrong with the idea of requiring those who are able to do so to pay for the education of their children, thus obligating the state to furnish free schooling for the poor only?
7. What are the reasons underlying the eagerness for education on the frontier?
8. Make a special study of the county academies organized in the several states.
9. Make a special study of early land grant legislation in one of the newer states.
10. Make a special study of common school funds and Literary Funds of the period.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Romantic Era

I. AMERICA, 1830-1860

CONDITIONS IN 1830

In 1830 the population of the United States numbered 13,000,000. Three fourths of the people lived in the older states of the Atlantic seaboard; only 3 per cent lived beyond the Mississippi River. The South Central states were slightly more populous than those of the North Central region. The number of foreign-born was a negligible factor, but the presence of over 2,000,000 Negroes in the South constituted a problem which was to become increasingly vexatious.

Professor Turner, the renowned historian, gives a vivid picture of conditions at the beginning of the period now about to be reviewed:

The United States of 1830 was a rural nation. . . . There were only twenty-five such cities [of 8,000 inhabitants or over] in 1830, and hardly more than one-twentieth of the people lived in them. New York, with about 200,000; Baltimore and Philadelphia, with 80,000 each; Boston, with 60,000; New Orleans, with 46,000; Charleston, with 30,000; and Cincinnati, with 24,000—were the largest. Some of the greatest cities of today, like Chicago, were hamlets.

It was a period when cities were practically without water systems, gas, electric light, well-paved streets, paid fire departments, or effective police forces. The first horse-drawn street cars

ran in New York in 1832, and the pictures of the cities at the time show little to remind us of the present. Postage cost over twelve and one-half cents for any distance. Hardly two dozen miles of railroad had been constructed; it took thirty-six hours to go from Boston to New York by stage and steamboat, and to go overland from Boston to the Pacific required as many months as it now takes days by train. Two weeks were occupied in the journey from New Orleans to Louisville. There were no ocean-going steamships.

Anthracite coal was beginning to be used for fuel; but there were in general, no furnaces, and coal stoves were a rarity. The ordinary household light was the tallow dip or the whale-oil lamp. Friction matches were new and hardly in use. As Senator Hoar tells us of his boyhood days in Concord, the lighting of the hearth fire on a New England winter morning was exactly as in the days of Homer—"a man hides a brand in a dark bed of ashes, at some outlying farm where neighbors are not near, hoarding a seed of fire to save his seeking elsewhere." The farmer still used the scythe and cradle as he had in Egypt. The sewing machine was not in use. Household spinning, weaving, and shoemaking still survived over much of the country; but the factory system was taking definite form, and with it arose the labor question. Modern medicine and anesthesia were yet to come.¹

REDISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION (1830-1860)

At the conclusion of the Mexican War in 1848, the territorial limits of the United States had been extended to the Pacific. The Census, taken two years later, indicated an increase of 10,000,000 people in twenty years. Foreign immigration was by this time contributing in some measure to this increase, but more important than the expansion was the redistribution of the population. The territory lying immediately west of the Mississippi River was now being occupied by an ever-increasing number of settlers. In general, the movement from the Atlantic continued westward, as heretofore, in parallel lines. Small

¹ Frederick J. Turner, *The United States: 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sections*. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1935, pp. 15-16. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

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farmers from New England and the Middle States moved into the rich lands of the North Central states, a few of them gravitating into the old Southwest. The urge of the westward movement carried poor whites and slave-owning planters of the South Atlantic states into the lower Mississippi Valley and still further, into Texas, Missouri, and Kansas. Irish immigrants replaced the transplanted population of the East in the developing industries of New England, Pennsylvania, and New York. Germans in considerable numbers flocked into the region of the Great Lakes. The prolific progeny of the Scotch-Irish settlers, who had occupied the colonial hinterland a hundred years earlier, however, constituted the most mobile element in the migratory movement.

The period is characterized by restless activity. Men were constantly on the move. The lure of the West fascinated young and old, rich and poor. Caravans of covered wagons moved constantly west through Pennsylvania and Ohio or threaded their way through the mountain passes of Virginia and North Carolina, while others rounded the lower Appalachians. Hundreds of travelers took the easier river route by way of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati or fared by sea to New Orleans to proceed thence by river transportation. Many moved only to remove again and again. Some remained in one place hardly long enough for the green bark to dry on their fence rails.² Few had adjusted themselves to the new environment when the discovery of gold in California incited the rush to the Pacific.

These were flush days. Opportunity beckoned to men of brains and industry. Enthusiasm ran high. Men dared to accept the challenge of a frontier ever more inviting. Courage and self-reliance were daily rewarded by wealth and political preferment. Success induced confidence, optimism, and expansiveness. It was the heyday of rugged individualism.

THE CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE

Illiteracy.—Illiteracy was widely prevalent, but conditions were not so bad, considering the times, as one might expect. By 1850, New England district schools had succeeded in reducing the percentage of

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

illiterates (persons over twenty years of age and unable to read and write) to less than 2 per cent of the total white population, and, except for illiterate immigrants, the record showed less than 1 per cent. Surely, so far as literacy means anything, nothing more could be expected in the East. But nowhere else were conditions so favorable. In the South the slave population, numbering over 2,000,000 Negroes, was almost without exception illiterate, and there were regions in the pine barrens and among the mountains where the rate of native white illiteracy ran alarmingly high. Altogether, the South below Maryland was five times as illiterate as New England. In the North Central states, illiteracy in Ohio ran 3 per cent, in Indiana and Missouri, 6 per cent. As one would expect, the sparsely settled frontier regions showed high percentages. Before the end of the period, however, illiteracy in New England and in the Middle states was increasing with the influx of immigrants brought over to dig canals and build railroads.³

Manners.—If we may believe those best qualified to judge such matters, American manners were atrocious. This was true of the major portion of the population everywhere, and of the newer sections of the country in particular. Mrs. Trollope, an Englishwoman who toured the North and the Mississippi Valley before 1830, was offended by the presence in a Cincinnati theater of coatless men with their shirt sleeves rolled up and by the “mixed smell of onions and whiskey.” She noted, as did Dickens, the disgusting proclivity toward chewing tobacco and spitting in public places.⁴ Mrs. Basil Hall, an English gentlewoman of exquisite taste, found the cooking good but the table service poor in the home of a proud Dutch family of New York where she was entertained.⁵ What displeased her more was the sight of “nice” ladies and gentlemen eating from knives. Her husband could not forbear to comment on the prevalent American custom of reaching for food across the dining table and the practice of leaning back on the hind legs of a chair.⁶ Before 1850, however, there seems to have been a

³ *Ibid.* For data on illiteracy see pp. 17, 81, 201, 246, 336.

⁴ Mrs. (Frances Eleanor Milton) Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, London, 1832, p. 116.

⁵ Mrs. Basil Hall, *The Aristocratic Journey*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1831, pp. 36, 55, 71.

⁶ Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in America in the Years 1827 and 1828*, II, 405.

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marked improvement. Dickens on a later visit observed the change, and Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley in that year wrote:

Those who wish to indulge in any invidious and vituperative observations concerning America had better make haste or they will find themselves absolutely compelled to praise and admire instead. Not only in Boston but universally in New England the habits of the people seem daily becoming more and more polished and refined.⁷

James Silk Buckingham, after a tour of the slave states in 1842, found gentlemen of the Southern aristocratic classes "so much more polished in their manners than those of the North."⁸

Appreciation of Literature, Art, Music, and Dramatics.—Standards of taste in reading were low. Mrs. Trollope noted the general preference for native newspapers and magazines. She found few except professional writers who were able to discuss the merits of the better type of English literature. The establishment of the well-known publishing houses of Harper and Brothers, D. Appleton and Company, J. B. Lippincott Company, and Little, Brown and Company during this period indicates a growing demand for the work of native authors. Taking the country as a whole outside academic circles, it may be said that there was little reading of English classical literature. Scott, Dickens, and Byron, however, were being sought by an increasing circle of appreciative readers. People hurriedly read the topics relating to politics and religion in the local newspapers—which were numerous—or skimmed occasional numbers of the *North American Review* (Boston, 1815–1877), the *Southern Literary Messenger* (1835–1859), *Godey's Lady's Book* or, more likely, a religious periodical.

There were few native artists, and little or no appreciation of the fine arts was to be found. The "Hudson River School" painted sentimental landscapes of no lasting merit. Portrait painting, which had flourished a generation earlier, went out of vogue with the invention

⁷ *Travels in the United States . . .*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1855, p. 144.

⁸ James Silk Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, Fisher, Son & Co., London, 1842, II, 25.

of the daguerreotype. Sculptured statues for public places were crudely executed. Architecture, following Greek, Roman, or Gothic models, represented perhaps the best American achievements in the field of art. While the level of appreciation was undeniably low, the establishment of picture galleries in Philadelphia and Cincinnati and the National Academy of Design in New York indicates an aspiration after the finer things of life.

Classical music was hardly known outside the larger cities. New York patronized the Italian opera, and New Orleans, the French. German immigrants brought in the best music of the brilliant contemporary school of that country. These influences, however, affected few people. There was more promise in the spontaneous offerings of native fiddlers and ballad makers whose naïve achievements struck a chord of genuine Americanism. "Home Sweet Home" and "America" are products of the period. Stephen Foster's native songs were being sung in all parts of the country.

There were numerous theaters, but the level of dramatic appreciation was low. In general, audiences preferred the ribald performances of native strolling troupes to those of imported artists. Many of the best English actors came to this country but, according to one observer, their efforts were as pearls cast before swine.⁹

FOREIGN APPRAISAL OF AMERICAN CULTURE

Foreign visitors cited numerous instances of bad taste. They objected to the typical American's exuberant spirits, to his hurrying, to his money chasing, and to his tendency to brag about himself or his country. They found fault with slavery, with the low status of women, and with the political mudslinging of that time. One of them summarized what others were doubtless too tactful to admit. "I do not like them," she wrote, "I do not like their principles. I do not like their manners. I do not like their opinions."¹⁰

The gibes of the foreign critics hurt the pride of the honest provincials who, with meager means, had—in their own estimation—gone

⁹ Mrs. Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

29

Public Latin School.

BOSTON, 1829

A report of the rank and deportment of
of the 1st Class. The class is divided into 3 Divisions. This Division
contains 16 individuals.
The studies of the month have been Latin & English grammar, etc.

Rank, deduced from the aggregate of all his recitations,	3
Recitations of the first, or highest order,	7
Recitations of the second order,	11
Recitations of the third order,	3
Recitations of the fourth order,	
Bad Recitations,	
English composition, (highest mark,	
Declamation, (highest mark, 18)	11
Reading English, (highest mark,	
Rank, as regards conduct alone,	1
Number of marks for misdemeanours,	0
Greatest number of misdemeanours against any boy in the division,	57
Least number against any boy in the division,	0
Number of times tardy,	1
Number of times absent,	

Remarks: was reported on the 5th and 19th Dec. to receive each week a Public approbation
for industry and exemplary conduct

N. B. Parents are informed, that their sons have a short lesson prescribed for every evening, intended to occupy them from an hour to an hour and a half—and they are earnestly requested to see that it is learned seasonably and at once. They are also informed, that the School Committee allow no excuse for tardiness to be received, and none for absence except sickness. Any suggestions, respecting the character or treatment of their sons, will be gratefully received from parents, who will please to give early notice of having received this Monthly Report, to

F. P. LEVERETT.

From Holmes: A Tercentenary History
of the Boston Public Latin School,
Harvard University Press

School Report Card, 1829

so far. American journalists retorted in hot resentment that the criticism was not true of all parts of the country nor of all the people. But the visitors had, in most instances, already conceded this point. Several of them had mentioned individuals of scholarship and refinement and had referred appreciatively to Boston and Charleston as centers of culture which gleamed like jewels in the toad's ugly head. It was the aptness of the criticism which smarted so sharply. American self-assurance was rebuked and challenged to make a further quest for culture.

THE ECONOMIC ADVANCE

Between 1830 and 1860 there was a rapid extension of facilities for trade and transportation. The Erie Canal had already been dug and now railroads were being built in every direction, chiefly east and west. By 1850, over 9,000 miles of track had been laid. The Mississippi River and its tributaries became a vast arterial system on which steamboats plied a flourishing trade. Morse's telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore was not set up until 1844, but before the end of the period communicating wires connected all important points, East and West, North and South. Such facilities enabled the manufacturers of the East to assemble raw materials cheaply and to distribute their finished product over a wide area. They also provided for the dissemination of information and the rapid crystallization of public opinion.

This was a formative period for American industry in which the roots of good and evil in the present system can be traced. Manufacturing on a larger scale developed in the New England and Middle Atlantic states. Textile mills were started in Massachusetts; factories for making clocks and fire arms in Connecticut; iron works in Pennsylvania. Corporations were being chartered and labor was now organizing to defend its rights. But shops were small, and the factory system, as we know it, had not yet got under way. The evils of the industrial revolution were not to be apparent until much later. Although hours of labor were long, working conditions furnished little ground for complaint.

A spirit of adventure pervaded industry. There was romance in constructive effort as well as in the hazards of business. Humble mechanics were as much interested in improving the processes of manufacture and in perfecting new inventions as were their capitalistic employers. The period is distinguished by the invention of numerous laborsaving devices that were to revolutionize the life of later times. Many of these, such as cooking and heating stoves, tin kitchen utensils, friction matches, and the like, tremendously increased household comfort. Others sped the farmer's work. Improved steel plows and Cyrus H. McCormick's reaper made way for large-scale agricultural operations later in the century.

INTEREST IN SCIENCE

From the middle of the eighteenth century on, interest in scientific matters had spread and deepened. New fields were opened and research became more intensive. Particularly in geology and the related fields of chemistry and mineralogy was there widespread interest. William Maclure (1763–1840), of Philadelphia, undertook to make the first geological survey of the United States as early as 1807.¹¹ After traversing on foot nearly every state in the union he published his observations somewhat later in a work which earned him the title of “The Father of American Geology.”

Several able scientists shared Maclure’s interest. Robert Owen, the Scotch philanthropist who had earlier conceived the idea of the infant school, planned (1826) the establishment of a communistic society for the promotion of science at New Harmony, Indiana. Maclure joined Owen in the experiment and induced a number of distinguished French, Dutch, Swiss, and German scientists to reside for a time in the little frontier village. Among those who were associated with Maclure and Owen were Gerard Troost, well known as a chemist and geologist; Thomas Say, “Father of American Entomology”; and Charles Lesueur, the famous naturalist.¹²

Like-minded but not sharing in the communistic movement was Benjamin Silliman, who became professor of chemistry, geology, and mineralogy at Yale in 1806. Silliman inspired a number of able students and exerted a wide influence through the *American Journal of Science*, which he founded in 1818. Amos Eaton’s instruction at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, the earliest scientific institution in America, gave a decided impetus to science teaching.

Other provinces of nature were explored by Asa Gray, the botanist, Louis Agassiz, the zoologist, and John J. Audubon, the ornithologist. The application of scientific principles to the activities of the household claimed considerable attention. In his *Household Science* (1858)

¹¹ Emma Bolzau, *Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps: Her Life and Work*, The Science Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1935, pp. 203–204.

¹² C. A. Browne, “Some Relations of the New Harmony Movement to the History of Science in America,” *The Scientific Monthly*, June, 1936, pp. 283–297.

Edward L. Youmans assembled information relating to the chemistry, physics, and biology of foods and cooking. Many people were also interested in the pseudo science of phrenology, which several colleges introduced into their curriculums. Science texts were written in popular style, sometimes in the form of conversations in order to appeal to the interest of the general reader. Lyceums and mechanics institutes featured lectures on science to which the public was admitted. The common man met the intellectual classes on this plane of mutual interest.

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Prior to the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828, America had known democracy only in a limited sense of the word. There had been, it is true, a fairly general belief that the people should act as the court of last resort to decide what sort of government should be maintained, but many able leaders still contended that it would be dangerous to permit the people to rule in actual practice. For forty years after the adoption of the Constitution, the people moved but slowly to assert their authority. During this time a minority consisting of men of wealth, learning, or family prestige actually ran the federal government and most of the state and local governments.

The tendency of the times, however, had been steadily in the direction of greater participation of the common people in public affairs. The states, for instance, gradually removed restrictions on suffrage. The moral and religious prescriptions, which certain New England colonies imposed, had been long since eliminated, but six of the states, after the union was formed, continued to limit the privilege of voting to landowners. The more liberal states of the West permitted no such restriction from the beginning, but conservative Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts did not open suffrage to all adult white male citizens, regardless of property qualifications, before 1800.

According to the prevalent ideal of democracy, the worth of the individual lay in himself. The concept of equality, engendered by the theory of indefinite perfectibility, contained no thought of reducing all to a dead level of mediocrity, as many opponents of democracy feared. The aspiration was rather to raise the lowest to the level of

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the highest. Equality was to be assured by removing all artificial barriers of class and privilege. Government and industry, following the *laissez-faire* policy, were to interfere as little as possible with the right of the individual to do as he pleased. Equal opportunity was to be open to all. Public schools were to provide uniform instruction with the expectation that all who accepted the advantages of the offering would profit alike. These were distinctly idealistic goals to be achieved, as many thought, in the course of time, though perhaps not in the lifetime of the generation then living.

II. THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

ROMANTICISM DEFINED

The eighteenth century gave birth to two great thought movements. The first of these has already been defined as the philosophy of Enlightenment. The second, called romanticism, was a reaction against the first. Although the two competitive movements ran along together through the latter half of that century, toward the end of the period the romantic movement was fast driving rationalism from the field. By this time the new persuasion had taken a firm hold in political theory and religion. After 1800 it was to extend its sway over ideals in literature, the fine arts, and personal behavior. Men were now tiring of formality, logic, and artificiality, and more and more were yielding to the guidance of natural impulse.

The romantic movement influenced education from several different angles. The new conception of the dignity of the common man led, as we have seen, to the establishment of public school systems to train children for citizenship in a democracy. The theory of education according to nature, as elaborated by Rousseau and his followers, profoundly affected the relationship of pupil and teacher and directly influenced methods of instruction. Finally, romanticism brought forth a new type of culture which in time came to be an objective of education. For these reasons a further exposition of the topic is in order.

Romanticism represented a new attitude toward life. The individual, according to this point of view, amounted to something in his own right. He was no longer a fraction of which the state, the church,

or society was the whole, but rather a self-directing unit, deriving authority from within himself. He was good because Nature had made him so. If he erred, it was because he had failed to obey his natural impulses. If he responded to the teachings of Nature, there was no limit to his possibilities for accomplishment. Romanticism was a theory and also an attitude toward life.

"Let Nature take its course" was a guiding principle of romanticism. The implication was twofold: (1) let the emotions direct behavior; (2) commune with Nature and learn the truth. Following this principle, poets and philosophers turned from academic dogma to nature worship. Wordsworth set forth the new doctrine, although in an extreme form to be sure, in these words:

One impulse from the vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

There is another aspect of romanticism which should not be overlooked: the movement was not necessarily antagonistic to the study of the classics. On the contrary, certain leaders discovered a romantic element in the ancient literatures, particularly Homeric Greek, and advocated classical study from a new point of view.

ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN FRANCE, GERMANY, ENGLAND

The roots of romanticism may be traced chiefly to the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Rousseau's political theory was largely responsible for the French Revolution and it was the same ferment, imported by such men as Franklin and Jefferson, which had led to the institution of democracy in America. The propagation of the theory in the favorable soil of the frontier has already been observed (Chapter VI) and all that is needed at this point in our discussion is to identify American democracy with Rousseau and the romantic movement in general.

Romanticism spread from France to Germany, where it gave rise to the philosophy of the great thinkers, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and

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Hegel. The atmosphere in that country was permeated with the new spirit. It manifested itself in all cultural pursuits. In literature the school of Goethe voiced it. In education Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel became the chief exponents. Since we are here interested chiefly in the effect of romanticism upon American culture, we need not stop to elaborate the details of the German movement. It is necessary, however, to mention it in tracing the course of the movement as it spread successively from France, to Germany, to England, and to America.

The advent of romanticism in England is best observed in the literary history of the period, for poets and prose writers not only voiced the spirit but undertook to philosophize on the subject. The well-known leaders of the movement were Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Carlyle. These men derived their inspiration either directly from French sources or indirectly through German interpretations. Coleridge and Carlyle, in particular, became students of German romantic philosophy and devoted their best efforts toward making England appreciate it.

ROMANTICISM IN AMERICA

An idealistic philosopher could hardly have chosen a climate more congenial than that of America to the growth and spread of the romantic spirit. Here Nature unfolded a vision of richness and beauty; here the ingenuity of man was challenged to develop the abounding resources; here was elbowroom for individual effort. In this wonderful land the poor could, and often did, grow rich, and the humble could be great. Hope sprang eternal, and faith was later justified in fact. Verily, the dream of a utopia was about to be realized, as many thought, in America.

The spirit sprang spontaneously from the environment. It spread like a contagion. Men did not stop to ask whence it came, or why, or how. They simply felt the urge to be up and doing and obeyed the impulse. The nineteenth century was well on its way before native Americans began to speculate as to its meaning. But the pioneer's native responses were now being identified with Rousseau's naturalistic philosophy and the time was ripe for thinking men on this side of the Atlantic to be heard.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

Among the first to observe "rugged individualism" and reason about it was Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1883). In his essay "Self-Reliance" (1841) he gives a concrete example of what he had in mind:

A sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont, who in turn tries all the professions, who *teams it, farms it, peddles*, keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, in successive years, and always like a cat falls on his feet, is worth a hundred of these city dolls. He walks abreast with his days and feels no shame in not "studying a profession," for he does not postpone his life, but lives already.

Emerson also examined that supremely romantic achievement, American democracy, and found it good. In his lecture, "The Young American" (1844), he expressed his faith in the following words:

One thing is plain for all men of common sense and common conscience, that here, here in America, is the home of man. . . . after all the deduction is made for our frivolities and insanities, there still remains an organic simplicity and liberty, which, when it loses its balance, redresses itself presently, which offers opportunity to the human mind not known in any other region.

Emerson became the acknowledged apostle of the type of Americanism which dominated the Jacksonian era.

TRANSCENDENTALISM

Emerson also pondered the validity of the idea of obedience to one's natural impulses, which was a cardinal principle of romanticism. He concluded that the creature, man, is one with his Maker; that he is endowed with a divine spark which enables him in some mysterious way both to see the truth and to translate it into action. And since the spark, in his opinion, came from the source of all power and goodness, it could drive men to superhuman accomplishment for moral good.

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In other words, Emerson believed that the spirit of man has the power to transcend the limitations of mortal circumstances. Thus he justified his faith in intuitive, and essentially good, impulses. The idea was not original with Emerson. Coleridge and Carlyle, whose works he read with care, had expounded the same thesis which they, in turn, had borrowed from the philosophy of the German, Immanuel Kant. So romanticism, reaching America through another channel, was identified with Jeffersonian democracy and the individualism of the frontier.

About Emerson there gathered a group of men and women, including chiefly Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau, Amos Bronson Alcott, and Margaret Fuller, who undertook to promulgate the romantic theory which they held in common. Some called themselves transcendentalists. The romantic humanitarianism which they sponsored flourished for a time among the intellectuals in and around Boston, but since it required time and contemplative ability to comprehend the philosophy in its entirety, it never attained wide popular acceptance. Hence there were few professed transcendentalists.

THE MORAL CRUSADERS

The spirit of transcendentalism, however, presented less difficulty than the letter, and many who did not understand the philosophy were actuated by the sentiment. Humanitarian impulses urged large numbers of men and women into moral crusades. Zealots who conceived themselves to be divinely appointed to reform the world headed the abolition movement, the temperance movement, the woman's suffrage movement, the prison reform movement, and the popular education movement. Hosts of followers, afire with romantic idealism, enlisted in these and various other humanitarian enterprises. The crusades furnished women their first opportunity for leadership. Dorothea Dix, Susan B. Anthony, and Harriet Beecher Stowe were as conspicuous in their respective fields as Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon were in education.

The crusading spirit at length found expression in national policy. The great wars in which this country has engaged were justified before the people on moral grounds. Zeal for a moral cause became a distinctively American trait.

THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

Romanticism gave rise to superior forms of native verse and prose. American authors of the earlier generations had achieved little or no success in writing according to the standards of Pope and Addison. Now Irving and Cooper led the way to the new freedom of romanticism. Bryant wrote poems of nature much like Wordsworth's. Poe and Hawthorne unleashed their imagination in fascinating tales. Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott preached the doctrine of individualism in their writings. Whittier wrote excellent verse in his crusade against slavery, and Longfellow taught mild moral lessons in his somewhat sentimental way. All the strands of romanticism were represented in the skein of American literature.

RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES

Religion bulked large in the life of the times although church influence was definitely rooted out of the government. The Methodist and Baptist denominations, making an appeal directly to the emotions, spread rapidly in the East and moved toward domination of the West and South. The earlier Calvinism gave way to the less rigorous Presbyterianism. The Catholic Church was strengthened by Irish immigration. Universalists, Unitarians, Mormons, and adherents of numerous other persuasions competed for numbers and place. There was much jealousy and not a little intolerance.

The prevailing tendency in religion was in keeping with the romantic philosophy of the time. In general, the drift was away from ceremonial and formula and toward emotional experience. Camp meetings and revivals at times whipped interest to the pitch of hysteria. Moral crusades and missionary activities found ready support. Many of the denominations hastened to set up ministerial training schools, but the spread of religious activities far outstripped the ability of churches to supply an educated ministry, and many congregations, as a consequence, had to be satisfied with the service of preachers with little or no formal instruction.

The period has no special claim to distinction as "the good old

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days," which the elders of each succeeding generation affectionately remember. Although the moral restrictions of several influential denominations were most exacting, there was much sentimental prudery and the usual prevalence of hypocrisy. The times were not conducive to stability of character. Change of residence and modification of circumstances tended to disrupt individual integrity. Greed, vice, and violence were prevalent. The spirits of men ran high. Yet, despite the temptation to backslide or to diverge from the straight and narrow path, virtuous men and women were to be found in almost every community.

RÉSUMÉ

It is difficult to compress into a single paragraph a description of the temper and character of the American people during these epoch-making years. It is well, however, to call attention to the psychological responses which might be expected of a comparatively uncouth population suddenly entering into possession of a landed endowment of fabulous richness. Another important development was the universal interest in science—particularly the science of everyday life, leading, on the one hand to the successful exploitation of natural resources, and on the other hand to the invention of useful mechanical devices. Further was the realization, in Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency, of the common man's aspiration to rule, with all that this means as a precedent in democratic government.

The spirit of the times may be epitomized in the one word—romanticism. It pervaded all human activities. Men broke with the past; they rebelled against rule and formula; they forgot themselves in enthusiasm for moral issues; they relied more and more upon emotional promptings. This was true in literature, music, and art, as well as in government, and it brought about a renewal of faith in religion as an emotional experience.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Study the history of your own state with particular reference to: (a) settlement or redistribution of population during the period between 1830 and 1860;

- (b) illiteracy; (c) social life; (d) economic changes; (e) development of cultural interests; (f) church history.
2. What ground is there for classifying each of the following as romanticist: (a) Thomas Jefferson; (b) Andrew Jackson; (c) Washington Irving; (d) William Cullen Bryant; (e) Nathaniel Hawthorne; (f) Harriet Beecher Stowe; (g) Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; (h) Emma Willard; (i) Susan B. Anthony; (j) John J. Audubon.
 3. What evidence is there in this chapter to show that America was still, to a large degree, dependent upon England for cultural leadership?
 4. Make a further study of significant scientific achievements of Americans of this period.

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CHAPTER NINE

The Crusade for Common Schools

THE SITUATION IN 1825

The beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century found the public schools without caste or standing anywhere except perhaps in a few isolated communities. Such public schools as there were subsisted, for the most part, upon the returns from rate bills charged parents who used the schools, or more rarely upon the proceeds of a local tax which the legislatures in several states permitted the districts to levy. The school "societies" (parishes) of Connecticut received small amounts from the state school fund and in the newer states meager pittances were derived from land grants. In no part of the country, however, were the institutions adequately supported. As a consequence of this parsimony public schools were despicable in the eyes of the poor as well as the rich.

It was hard to break away from the tradition which regarded the support of schools as an individual, a religious, or a charitable enterprise. The springing up of private academies in almost every community indicates the widespread acceptance of the theory that responsibility for education rested first upon the parent. The desire for religious instruction on the part of each sect motivated the establishment of denominational schools whenever and wherever the respective churches were able to set them up. In the larger cities such as New York and Philadelphia, where great numbers of the poor were other-

wise unprovided for, philanthropic societies made contributions for nonsectarian charity schools. All these voluntary efforts by individuals, churches, and philanthropists indicate lukewarm faith in the principle that the state should provide for the education of all.

Once established, private institutions become vested interests in competition with existing public schools, and often active in the defeat of legislation looking toward the further extension of the system. A substantial portion of the propertied class, even in Massachusetts and Connecticut where the best public schools were to be found, preferred to patronize private schools. So influential were the private interests in certain states—notably in New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Indiana—that they were able to secure state aid for their institutions. In the South the aristocrats seldom thought of sending their own children to the schools which they provided for the poor.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS HUMANITARIAN CRUSADE

Before 1830 there was no upsurge of sentiment voicing itself in a popular demand for schools. Governors and other public officials who discussed education in their formal addresses too often voiced merely the current political theory that education and democracy should go hand in hand and did not consider the problem so pressing that it had to be met immediately at the price of general taxation. If the utterances of these officials were prompted by the wishes of the common people, they certainly did not hasten to realize these ideals in any practical way. No legislature was stampeded into action by the rising of an angry mob of illiterates bent on securing public schools for their children.

Generally speaking, sentiment for public schools did not spring spontaneously from the classes most in need of it. The masses long remained indifferent to such advantages as might accrue to them from this source. The Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Education observed the "culpable apathy of the population." Popular referendums taken in Indiana as late as 1848 and 1849 showed only a slight majority favoring tax-supported schools. Many state legislatures passed public school measures only to repeal them the next year. The move to abolish rate bills in New York state in 1850 was defeated by popular

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vote. Although school terms were short, enrollments were small and attendance irregular. These facts indicate the widespread indifference of the masses.

The movement in the second quarter of the century which awoke the conscience of the country and led to legislative activity in nearly all the states, was essentially romantic in character. It was a manifestation of that broader humanitarian movement that comprised also prison reform, the abolition of slavery, and the care of the defective and feeble-minded in state supported asylums, hospitals, and eleemosynary institutions. It was a middle-class movement sponsored by clergymen, teachers, patriots, and other earnest men and women who had the good of their fellow men at heart. The motive was not primarily to secure the advantage of free schools for middle- and upper-class children but rather to extend the privilege of schooling to the underprivileged masses. Devoutly believing that knowledge is virtue, the leaders sought through literacy to deliver the lower classes from crime and degradation. They regarded themselves as missionaries to the people rather than as representatives of the classes for whom they spoke. The movement, as a whole, was a middle-class humanitarian crusade rather than a proletarian uprising.

THE AMERICAN LYCEUM

One of the earliest and most effective agencies engaged in "working the leaven of educational improvement" was the American lyceum movement. The first local units of this association were organized in Massachusetts by Josiah Holbrook in 1826. The idea spread rapidly and within five years lyceums were being established in every part of the country. A national organization was perfected in 1831, and for several years delegates assembled in annual conventions. The object of the organization, as set forth in its constitution, was "the advancement of education, especially in common schools, and the general diffusion of knowledge." In the pursuit of this ideal, local lyceums collected libraries and held periodic meetings featuring lectures on education and scientific demonstrations. The organization in all of its branches appealed chiefly to teachers, clergymen, philanthropists, and other public-spirited citizens. Its membership numbered such well-

known names as Edward Everett, Albert Gallatin, Washington Irving, and Daniel Webster. The most famous lecturers sought its platform, among them Ralph Waldo Emerson, who testified that he had renounced his pulpit for the lyceum. For about a dozen years the organization rendered a much needed service in awakening people to the need for education in general and for public schools in particular.¹

PROPAGANDA SOCIETIES

Numerous local organizations for the promotion of public education sprang up in the several states. The "Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools" did effective missionary work preparatory to the Act of 1834. The American Institute of Instruction, organized in Boston in 1830, under the leadership of George B. Emerson and James G. Carter, rendered a similar service to Massachusetts in hastening the passage of reform legislation. The "Western Academic Institute," founded at Cincinnati in 1829, was active in the cause of public education not only in Ohio but in a number of neighboring states. Its propaganda campaign by means of circulating literature, sending out lecturers, and memorializing legislatures, was widely influential. Other societies were important locally.

EDUCATIONAL CONVENTIONS

The passage of effective school legislation was urged in 1838 by the Right Reverend George W. Doane of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New Jersey in an eloquent address before the "most notable convention of the friends of the common schools ever held in the state." The legislature of Illinois was memorialized by a similar convention in 1834 to provide for public schools. In the course of the next two decades conventions were held in Virginia, Tennessee, and Indiana. These spontaneous efforts attest the rising wave of sentiment that was soon to be felt in the conservative South and in the frontier states of the Mississippi Valley as well as in the East.

¹ Cecil B. Hayes, *The American Lyceum*, United States Office of Education, Bulletin No. 12, 1932.

RESOLUTIONS OF WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

Evidence that the masses were not altogether unmindful of their need for education is to be found in resolutions passed by associations of workingmen in the large cities. A general meeting of mechanics and workingmen of New York City (1829) resolved that the state should provide funds adequate to "insure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity." In the same year a similar resolution was passed by the Workingmen's Association of Philadelphia, which was followed the next year by a resolution pleading for schools free from the taint of pauperism. These are among the few expressions indicative of a favorable sentiment among the lower classes of the larger cities. If such a sentiment prevailed among the voiceless rural masses, it did not constitute a demand before sympathetic leaders from the upper stratum undertook to direct it.

LEADERS OF THE MOVEMENT

The leaders of the movement came chiefly from the clergy and the teaching profession. They were usually college-bred men actuated by high humanitarian impulses. The New England colleges furnished more than their due share of leaders for the West as well as the East. In the public school movement these men discovered a human welfare cause to which they might consecrate their efforts. Thus, the Reverend Charles Brooks of Massachusetts found his parish a bailiwick too small for his sympathies and the Reverend Calvin E. Stowe of Ohio came to place the promotion of public schools ahead of the education of the ministry in which he was engaged. Thomas H. Gallaudet of Connecticut, clergyman, teacher, and philanthropist, "sympathized with and participated, so far as his health and other engagements would allow, in every movement which aimed to elevate, purify and bless society through a widespread system of popular education."² And Caleb Mills of Indiana, one

² Henry Barnard, *Memoirs of Teachers and Educators*, 2d ed., Part I, New York, F. C. Brownell, 1861, p. 108.

of a number of Dartmouth graduates who found education a fertile missionary field, devoted his best effort to the establishment of free schools in that state. In the North Central states leadership of the new public school movement was largely in the hands of college-bred men from New England. The names of John D. Pierce, Isaac E. Crary, and Lyman Beecher, in addition to Mills and Stowe, are outstanding examples. Nor is it strange to observe enthusiasm for public education combined with a fanatical zeal for abolition, as in the case of Horace Mann of Massachusetts and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. The romantic ferment for human betterment stirred these men as it moved others to launch crusades for reforms in allied fields. The objective of the leaders was intelligent citizenship in a democracy, a goal to be attained by means of an adequate system of public schools administered by the authority of the state as a whole.

REFORMS IN MASSACHUSETTS

The reform of the Massachusetts school system was instigated chiefly by James G. Carter (1795-1840), a farmer's son who became interested in public education while a student in Harvard College. Immediately after graduation he began to urge the establishment of efficient schools within reach of the poor. In a lengthy pamphlet he deplored the current neglect of public schools, so contrary to the New England tradition, and urged legislative measures for improvement. In 1826, under Carter's leadership, Massachusetts vested in the town school committees the powers of general supervision which the small school districts had for forty years exercised so ineffectively. As a member of the legislature Carter, with the assistance of Horace Mann, secured the passage (1837) of the law creating the state board of education. In the meantime he was instrumental in establishing a state school fund to assist the towns in the maintenance of more competent instruction. He later instigated the founding of the first normal schools in Massachusetts, which were also the first in the United States. Having thus created the machinery for efficient centralized control, prepared the means for more adequate support, and provided for the training of teachers, Carter passed the leadership to one who surpassed him in enthusiasm, driving power, and intellectual vigor.

HORACE MANN

Heir to the traditions of the Puritan family from which he sprang, Horace Mann did not outgrow the training of his youth. In the Mann home integrity, hard work, steadfastness of purpose, benevolence, and the love of knowledge ranked high in the scale of domestic virtues. These traits were deeply engrained in his nature. His "boyish castles in the air" had reference to doing something for the benefit of mankind.³ Though



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Horace Mann

he early rebelled against the rigorous discipline and gloomy theology of his father's home, he became a Puritan without bigotry, a romanticist with character.

He proved himself a brilliant student while working his way through Brown University. After graduation he was retained at Brown for a while as a tutor and then studied for the legal profession in the famous law school at Litchfield, Massachusetts. He married, practiced law successfully at Dedham for a few years, and was elected to the legislature. After the death of his young wife he removed to Boston. Here he became an intimate associate of the transcendentalists, whose doc-

³ *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1896-1897, I, 723.*

trines he respected but did not embrace. Elected to the state senate, he shortly became chairman of that body. In this capacity he aided James G. Carter in securing the passage of the act establishing the state board of education. This marked a turning point in his life.

With the creation of the state board of education, much to the surprise of his friends the promising young statesman gave up the career of law and politics to accept the office of secretary. At the same time he wrote in his private journal the words: "The path of usefulness is opened before me. . . . God grant me an annihilation of selfishness, a mind of wisdom, a heart of benevolence."⁴ On learning that the legislature had appropriated but fifteen hundred dollars for his salary, office, and traveling expenses, he remarked: "Well, one thing is certain: if I live and have health, I will be revenged on them; I will do them more than \$1500 worth of good."⁵ Such was the spirit in which Horace Mann took up his new duties in 1837.

The battle for the improvement of the free schools had already begun but Mann's office had no authority except that won by persuasion. The new legal machinery which he and Carter had devised could not work without the strong endorsement of public opinion, which was then lacking. It became the secretary's first duty, therefore, to arouse sentiment favorable to the schools. Mann swept like a whirlwind through the state. He lectured passionately. He issued reports and published his views in the *Common School Journal*. His stirring advocacy raised up enemies as well as friends. The propertied class contested his plea for higher taxes. The religious denominations fought his "godless" schools. The schoolmasters, even those of enlightened Boston, resented his aspersions on their efficiency. The twelve years of his period of office were years of terrific agitation.

But Mann was winning his battle. The school fund was doubled; new hygienic schoolhouses were erected; salaries of teachers were raised; the school term was lengthened; high schools were established; three normal schools were opened; teaching methods were improved.

⁴ Mary T. Mann, *Life of Horace Mann*, Lee and Shepard, New York, 1865, p. 80. One of the best biographies of Horace Mann, it was written by his second wife.

⁵ Quoted by William H. Kilpatrick, "Horace Mann and the American Dream," *Journal of the National Education Association* (1937), XVI, 43.

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These were but the visible signs of the spiritual health which the work of Horace Mann inspired.

Mann's energies extended beyond the boundaries of his own state. He castigated the legislature of Connecticut for repealing its school reform laws. He traveled and lectured widely. He advised authorities in such distant states as Iowa and Mississippi concerning school administration. He selected a superintendent for the city schools of New Orleans. He counseled the distinguished South American statesman, Sarmiento, with reference to the establishment of public schools in Chile and in the Argentine republic. Under his inspired leadership the crusade for public education spread to practically every state in the union. He belonged not to Massachusetts alone but to the nation.

His most important service to the cause of education ended with his career as secretary of the Massachusetts State School Board. After surrendering his office in 1848, he served two terms in Congress, occupying the seat vacated by John Quincy Adams. He was later nominated, but defeated, for the governorship of Massachusetts. His last years he spent as president of Antioch College in Ohio.

Horace Mann's name is remembered as that of the foremost educational statesman that America has produced. The hundredth anniversary of his taking office as secretary was observed in 1937 with commemorative exercises in schools throughout the nation. As an individual it is not difficult to appraise him, for his characteristics stand out in marked relief. He was, first of all, a man with a mission. The ideal of his life is best phrased in the words he used in his last address to the graduates of Antioch College: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."⁶ He had the heart of a social crusader; he was all afire with his purpose. He studied his problems carefully both at home and abroad, and then moved toward their solution with confidence and vigor. As a propagandist he was at his best. A great orator in an age of great orators, he met opposition with eloquent persuasiveness.

He was not much of a theorist. His friend, the English philosopher George Combe, said that Mann had no philosophy except the current faith in indefinite perfectibility. This seemed to be sufficient for Mann, as it was for most Americans of that period. At least it was simple

⁶ Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 553.

enough for the average man to understand and it readily served Mann's practical purpose. Mann's philosophy was his life, and with this Emerson himself was well pleased.

HENRY BARNARD'S REFORMS

Reforms in Connecticut followed the pattern of Massachusetts. Here the missionary zeal of Thomas H. Gallaudet prepared the way for Henry Barnard in much the same way that the practical achievements



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Henry Barnard

of James G. Carter had prepared the way for Horace Mann. The public schools of the state, which somewhat earlier had been regarded as the best in the nation, had now deteriorated, and the better class of people were turning to private schools. The situation was ripe for reform when, in 1838, the legislature created a state board of education similar to that established by Massachusetts the year before.

Henry Barnard, appointed secretary, was a Yale graduate who had studied law before going into teaching. Deeply impressed with the possibilities for reform, he had spent a two-year sojourn in Europe observing Pestalozzian methods and the better practices of school administration. He had but shortly returned when, at the age of twenty-eight, he was called to the duties of his new office on a salary of three dollars a day and expenses.

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The function of the secretary, as in Massachusetts, was largely that of inspection and inspiration, and Barnard more than satisfied the legal requirements of his office. Kent's *Commentaries on American Law* appraised one of Barnard's annual reports as "a bold and startling document, founded on the most painstaking and critical inquiry."⁷ But the sweeping reforms he advocated entailed new taxes which the conservative politicians resented, and after four years they abolished the state board, along with the office of secretary.

The fame of Barnard's accomplishments in Connecticut, however, had spread abroad. The *North American Review* (April, 1842) declared that one such man was worth a score of politicians. Rhode Island, needing just such reforms and just such a man, invited Barnard to become secretary of the newly established board of education in that state. Barnard accepted and within the next four years placed the schools of Rhode Island upon a substantial basis. Connecticut, in the meantime, discovered her loss and brought Barnard back to resume his duties where he had left off. This time Barnard met with success. He not only provided for more efficient centralized control and more ample support for the schools but also inspired an abiding faith in public education.

Beginning the publication of the *American Journal of Education* in 1855, Barnard "accepted the whole country as the theater of his operations." *Barnard's Journal*, as it is now familiarly called, continued for thirty-one years under his editorship. During the period of its publication it was the only magazine which attained a truly national character. Barnard collected data from every state in the union and from many foreign countries. He reported new school legislation, new methods and devices, biographies of teachers—in fact, everything of interest in forwarding the movement of education. Scholars now find its files a repository of valuable materials relating to the schools of the period. Few school journals of any time, either in this country or any other, have been more ably edited.⁸

Henry Barnard later continued his educational activities first as president of the University of Wisconsin and then of St. John's College. From the latter post he was called to Washington as the first United

⁷ Quoted in Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

⁸ Richard E. Thursfield, *Henry Barnard's "American Journal of Education,"* The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1945, Chap. VI.

States Commissioner of Education. The Federal Bureau of Education, which he organized and for three years directed, for some time after his brief incumbency followed his plan for collecting and presenting the data of education.

In Henry Barnard the fire of a steady purpose glowed brightly without bursting into flame. He lacked the fanatical eloquence of Horace Mann but surpassed him in scholarly attainments. An indefatigable worker, he gave himself unsparingly to a great cause. His self-sacrifice early won him praise. The *New York Review* (April, 1843) thus commended his effort: "We are glad to see such men engaged in such a cause. We honor that spirit which is willing to 'spend and be spent' in the public service, not in the enjoyment of sinecures loaded with honors and emoluments, but toiling alone, through good report and evil report, alike indifferent to the flattery or the censure of evil-minded men, and intent only on the accomplishment of its work of benevolence and humanity."⁹ A scholar and "gentleman of the old school," Barnard's outstanding service was rendered not in his capacity as a school administrator, though this is not to be minimized, but in his capacity as publicist. His work entitled *Pestalozzi and His Educational System* did much to popularize the methods of the European educator in this country. His work on school architecture was influential in another field, and his miscellaneous writings in the *American Journal* disseminated better methods and practices. He well deserves to be singled out as the scholar of the great reform movement.

PAUPER SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA

The divergent interests in the mixed population of Pennsylvania long forestalled the enactment of public school legislation. The Germans, maintaining their own parochial schools in which instruction was given in their own language, voiced an inveterate opposition. On the other hand, the Scotch-Irish settlements in the western part of the state favored the common school. In the large industrial centers, where the evils of neglect were more apparent than elsewhere, the humanitarian societies first rose in protest against pauper schools. It was clear

⁹ Quoted in Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

that only a flexible law with a local option feature could be passed at that time.

The pauper schools, established early in the century, proved ineffective. As late as 1828, they were enrolling fewer than 5,000 pupils, and over half of the 400,000 children in the state between the ages of five and fifteen were out of school. The Society for the Promotion of Public Schools and the other propaganda agencies called these facts to the attention of the legislature. This body, which in spite of earlier importunities had taken no satisfactory action, was now constrained to pass the Free-School Act of 1834. The law created 987 rural and urban school districts and provided for state aid and local taxation. Each district was required to hold an election to find out whether the majority of the people wished to take advantage of the provisions of the act. In the elections held in the fall of that year over half of the school districts voted to come under the law. The issue, however, was yet to be concluded. When the legislature convened the next year the opponents of the law rallied to repeal it. This might have been accomplished but for the persuasive eloquence of Thaddeus Stevens, a native of Vermont who had brought to his adopted state and the embattled cause the traditional zeal of a New Englander. Instead of being defeated, the law was strengthened.¹⁰ Gradually, through the course of the next forty years, the districts which had remained outside the law came to accept its provisions. Thus, the pauper school principle was extinguished in Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania's action served as an example to neighboring states. A state convention in protest against pauper schools in New Jersey led to a legislative act eliminating these institutions in 1838, and the new constitution of 1844 specifically allocated the income from the permanent school fund to the public schools. Maryland's first general school law (1826) was optional with the counties and thus ineffective. The state's public school system arose after the Civil War. Delaware likewise proceeded slowly and did not enact effective state-wide legislation until 1861.

¹⁰ Thomas H. Burrowes and James P. Wickersham were leaders in the subsequent development of the public schools in Pennsylvania. See Robert L. Mohr, *Thomas Henry Burrowes, 1805-1871*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1946.

THE ELIMINATION OF RATE BILLS IN NEW YORK

In New York state the public schools had been supported in large measure by rates since early in the century. Each parent paid in proportion to the number of children he sent to school and the number of days of attendance. Under such a system of support the schools may be regarded as only partially free. The larger cities, with great numbers of poor children to educate, early discovered the inadequacy of the system and began to petition for special legislation permitting them to levy a general tax. Between the years 1832 and 1853, such cities as New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Brooklyn, Syracuse, and Utica obtained this privilege. Outside of the cities the sentiment for general taxation, as shown in a state referendum in 1850, was not strong, and it was not until 1867, after all the Northern and Eastern states—with the exception of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Michigan, and New Jersey—had abandoned the principle, that New York abolished the rate bills.¹¹

THE CRUSADE IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

There were two conspicuous elements in the population of the old Northwest. Michigan, Wisconsin, and the northern halves of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were settled by the westward movement of New England people. Southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were occupied largely by people from Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky. The traditions of these two elements differed widely, and the conflict of ideas in states with mixed population tended to retard the movement for public education. A beginning had been made in Ohio and Indiana with the sixteenth-section grants but neither of these states advanced beyond a decentralized district system before the decade beginning with 1830.

The movement properly began through the efforts of New England churches to extend the field of their operations into new territory. College-bred clergymen from the East who went out to stimulate

¹¹ This story is told in somewhat greater detail by E. P. Cubberley in *Public Education in the United States*, Rev. Ed., Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1934, pp. 200–205.

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spiritual life observed the absence of public schools and early took the leadership in a movement to provide them. The Reverend Lyman Beecher and the Reverend Calvin E. Stowe joined Albert Pickett¹² to establish at Cincinnati (1829) the Western Academic Institute and Board of Education, a society that later dispensed propaganda for public schools in eighteen states. The Reverend John D. Pierce, who was sent to the West as a missionary, planned a system of schools for Michigan with the cooperation of General Isaac E. Crary, also from the East, before that state entered the union. The Reverend Caleb Mills, a native of New Hampshire, secured the passage of the first effective school law in Indiana.

The clergymen did not labor alone. The New England settlers in the Northwest were stirred to activity. Lay leaders of the type of Samuel Lewis and Samuel Galloway of Ohio, and Ninian Edwards, a Kentuckian who had migrated to Illinois, came to the front. Through their efforts the legislatures of these states were whipped into passing more substantial school laws.

Reforms, however, did not come hurriedly. In Ohio, where the voice of the propagandists was first raised, a law was passed in 1837 providing for state, county, and township organization, but the "loose, inefficient system" then established was weakened by later amendments to the law. Ohio did not abolish rate bills until 1853. Efforts to pass a school law in Indiana were unsuccessful, and when in 1849 the counties and districts were permitted to levy taxes for schools, only a little more than half of the counties took advantage of the option. A state tax of one mill was not possible in Indiana before 1852, when a new state constitution authorized a public school system. In Michigan, where the administration of the sixteenth sections had already been taken away from the township trustees, the constitution of 1850 ordered the establishment of a system of primary schools within five years, but effective action was delayed until 1869. Wisconsin, however, following the example of Massachusetts, adopted a good school code in 1849 providing for district taxation, a school census, and other features typical of New England practice.

¹² A New York teacher who had edited *The Academician* (1818-1820), one of the earliest teachers' journals.

THE SHADOW OF REFORM IN THE SOUTH

A recent writer has likened the social system of the ante-bellum South to a "three-story white structure on a mudsill of black."¹³ The total population of about 12,000,000 was roughly divided between 8,000,000 native whites and 4,000,000 Negro slaves. At the top of the social scale stood the small but powerful planter class which owned numerous slaves and operated large tracts of land under overseers. Next in order came the small farmers, numbering five sixths of the white population, each cultivating a few acres with his own hands or with the aid of a slave or two. The poor whites, perhaps a million in number, constituted the ground floor of the white social structure. Below these were the Negroes.

The South reacted feebly to the great philanthropic movement for public education which was sweeping the North and the East. To understand why this was the case it is necessary to inquire further into the social conditions of the old South. The ideal of government was that of an ancient Greek democracy in which the privilege of ruling belonged almost exclusively to the intelligent upper class. The small farmers and poor whites, corresponding to the order which Plato had called the artisan class, were supposed to support the ruling class, as they usually did, in the offices of government. The slaves attended to the menial work, thus providing leisure for their masters to engage in the service of the state. Caste distinctions were not rigid except between the white and black races. Small farmers were constantly acquiring land and slaves and entering the planter class, and poor whites occasionally rose to the estate of farmers. Members of the planter class sometimes lost wealth and sank into the lower orders. Thus, to some extent the system was based on the ability and enterprise through which wealth and social position are acquired.

All this bears directly upon the South's attitude toward public education. The planters educated their children for their station in life just as the ancient Greeks had done. Some of them employed tu-

¹³ R. S. Cotterill, *The Old South*, Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, Calif., 1936, p. 278.

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tors or governesses, frequently from the North. Others patronized local academies, of which there was an ample number, and then sent their daughters to finishing schools in the cities and their sons to universities either in the South or in the North. The small farmers also had access to the academies, in case they cared to have their children educated and were financially able. The laws of most states early made some provision for the education of indigents, but the poor whites generally permitted their children to grow up in ignorance. As for the Negroes, no education except in the trades and industries of the plantation was provided. In fact, there was strong opposition to the education of that race through the fear of its contributing to a slave uprising, and a number of states passed laws forbidding that Negroes be taught to read and write. Thus, the educational system of the old South was adjusted to prevailing social conditions.

The mid-century crusade for tax-supported public schools open to all was contrary to the traditional point of view, in which families of means were charged with the responsibility of educating their own children while the state was obligated to educate only the poor. Furthermore, it ran counter to the wishes of the aristocratic governing class, which had no desire for its children to mingle in school with children of the so-called lower classes. Then, when all other objections had been disposed of, the vexatious burden of taxation still remained. The question of the education of the Negro was, of course, not entertained. So it was but the shadow of reform that fell upon the South. Not until the Reconstruction period, after the old social structure had been shattered, did reform, in the good New England sense of the word, set in.

Nevertheless there was considerable agitation in favor of public schools in all the Southern states, although the impulse toward reform seemed to come from the outside. Calvin Stowe's *Report on Elementary Education in Europe* was republished by the legislatures of North Carolina and Virginia. The pervasive propaganda of the (Cincinnati) Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, which in 1832 succeeded the Western Academic Institute, reached every Southern state before 1840. The Institute doubtless inspired the educational conventions held in western Virginia in 1841 and at Richmond in 1845. But once aroused, local leaders took charge of the movement

in their respective states. Dr. Henry Ruffner, active in the Virginia conventions, pleaded for free schools before the legislature of that state. Calvin H. Wiley, who became North Carolina's first state superintendent in 1852, was a vigorous contender for effective organization. The Reverend Robert J. Breckenridge of Kentucky, as state superintendent, initiated substantial reforms in that state. Governor A. G. Brown struggled valiantly but vainly to secure a school law for Mississippi. In practically every Southern state between 1835 and 1860 there arose zealous leaders who sturdily fought the battle for public schools.

GROUND GAINED BEFORE 1868

Though the public school movement did not proceed so rapidly in the South as in the East, the agitation, which continued to the very brink of the Civil War, produced many beneficial results. Before 1868, every state from Virginia to Texas, including Tennessee and Arkansas, had developed the semblance of a state school system. All these states, with the exception of Virginia, had made provision for the office of state superintendent, either on full time or in part-time capacity as secretary of state. All had provided for county and other local officials, for the collection of statistics, and the examination of teachers. All had established state school funds, and all permitted local taxation for the support of schools.¹⁴

Professor Knight, the most competent authority on the history of Southern schools, thus summarizes the advance made before the war:

Most of the States in that region passed rather slowly through the process of democratizing education, and the principle of public education, as it is understood today, was not early and fully accepted by any of them. But that principle had not gained complete and practical acceptance anywhere in the United States before the Civil War. Yet even in the Southern States, where the contests for free schools were very fierce, considerable progress was made for public elementary education. And on the eve of that great

¹⁴ Edgar W. Knight, *The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South*, Contributions to Education, No. 60, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913, Chapter VII.

conflict those States were generally preparing to accept the democratic idea of schools supported and controlled by the State. But for the Civil War and its dreadful aftermath, the history of public education in the South would be a different and a better story.¹⁵

The public school movement in the South, as in the East, was promoted by earnest, sympathetic leaders of the upper classes. The pressure from the masses, even under the inspiration of the Jacksonians, was not the compelling motive. It should be remembered that the reforms mentioned earlier were enacted by conservative legislatures dominated by planters who did not need free schools for their own children. Into this action they were goaded by humanitarian, patriotic, and, to some extent, economic motives.¹⁶ That the reforms fell short of expectations is evidence that they were based upon a thin layer of sentiment rather than upon the bedrock of popular demand.

PERMANENT ENDOWMENT FUNDS

The earliest state school funds had been established by Connecticut and New York prior to 1800. Other states had followed this leadership, and by 1834 nearly all the Eastern and most of the Southern states had established such funds. Consisting of lands and miscellaneous revenues arising from escheats, liquor licenses, marriage fees, dog taxes, and lottery licenses, the funds were often too small to produce income sufficient for annual distribution. In several of the states, notably Delaware and North Carolina, the fund was allowed to accumulate a number of years before being apportioned to the schools. In the states west of the Appalachians these funds were substantially augmented by the federal land grants, consisting of the sixteenth section of each township, and by the later grant of saline and swamp lands.

State school funds were still further enlarged by the federal distribution of surplus revenue in 1838. Eight states—Alabama, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont—set aside the full amounts apportioned to them for the schools. Nine

¹⁵ Knight, *Public Education in the South*, pp. 266–267.

¹⁶ Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935, p. 71.

other states gave a portion of their allotments to education. The full amount distributed to the states was over \$28,000,000. The pro rata ranged from \$286,751 for Delaware, Michigan, and Arkansas to over \$4,000,000 for New York. These were large amounts for that time and, when added to the respective state funds, should have provided a fair income for the schools. In actual fact, however, the schools received little benefit from this source.

Nor did the proceeds from the earlier land grants provide substantial aid. Township trustees proved to be incompetent in the management of the sixteenth sections. Under their administration the lands were often stripped of their natural resources or leased for long periods for little or nothing. When the state assumed responsibility, as in the case of Michigan and Mississippi, the proceeds from land sales were poorly invested and quickly lost. In other states the legislatures borrowed the school funds for other purposes. In Tennessee the state superintendent embezzled a large amount. In California the fund was invested in state bonds which were never paid. The history of the school fund in practically every state is a story of incompetence, negligence, and waste. Of the surplus revenue distributed to all the states, one authority declares that only about \$7,500,000 of the original \$28,000,000 "actually exists today."¹⁷ The school lands granted to the states during this period now yield only a small fraction of the revenue needed for educational purposes.

In spite of the bountiful provision represented in the federal donations, the states soon came to see that endowment funds could not bear the full burden of the schools. Nowhere did these funds yield income sufficient to operate the schools without resorting to rate bills or taxation. Reluctantly the states submitted to the inevitable tax but not, as we shall see, without a struggle.

TAXATION FOR SCHOOLS

The people of the several states came gradually to accept the principle of school support by general taxation. This came through a

¹⁷ E. P. Cubberley, *State School Administration*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1927, p. 35. For a discussion of land grants and school funds, see Chaps. II and XVI.

struggle that continued well through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The principle that the wealth of the state should educate the children of the state, now seldom questioned in any part of the country, was bitterly contested at that time but consistently gained ground. E. P. Cubberley, a leading authority on school administration, has analyzed the forward movement into five steps as follows:

(1) Permission granted to communities so desiring to organize a school taxing district, and to tax for school support the property of those consenting and residing therein. (2) General taxation of all property in the taxing district permitted by vote, regardless of individual consent. (3) State aid to taxing districts, from the income from permanent school funds or from the proceeds of a small state tax or appropriation. (4) Compulsory local taxation to supplement the state aid received. (5) Often township or county taxation added, to supplement state and district sources.¹⁸

Cubberley further describes the culmination of the process:

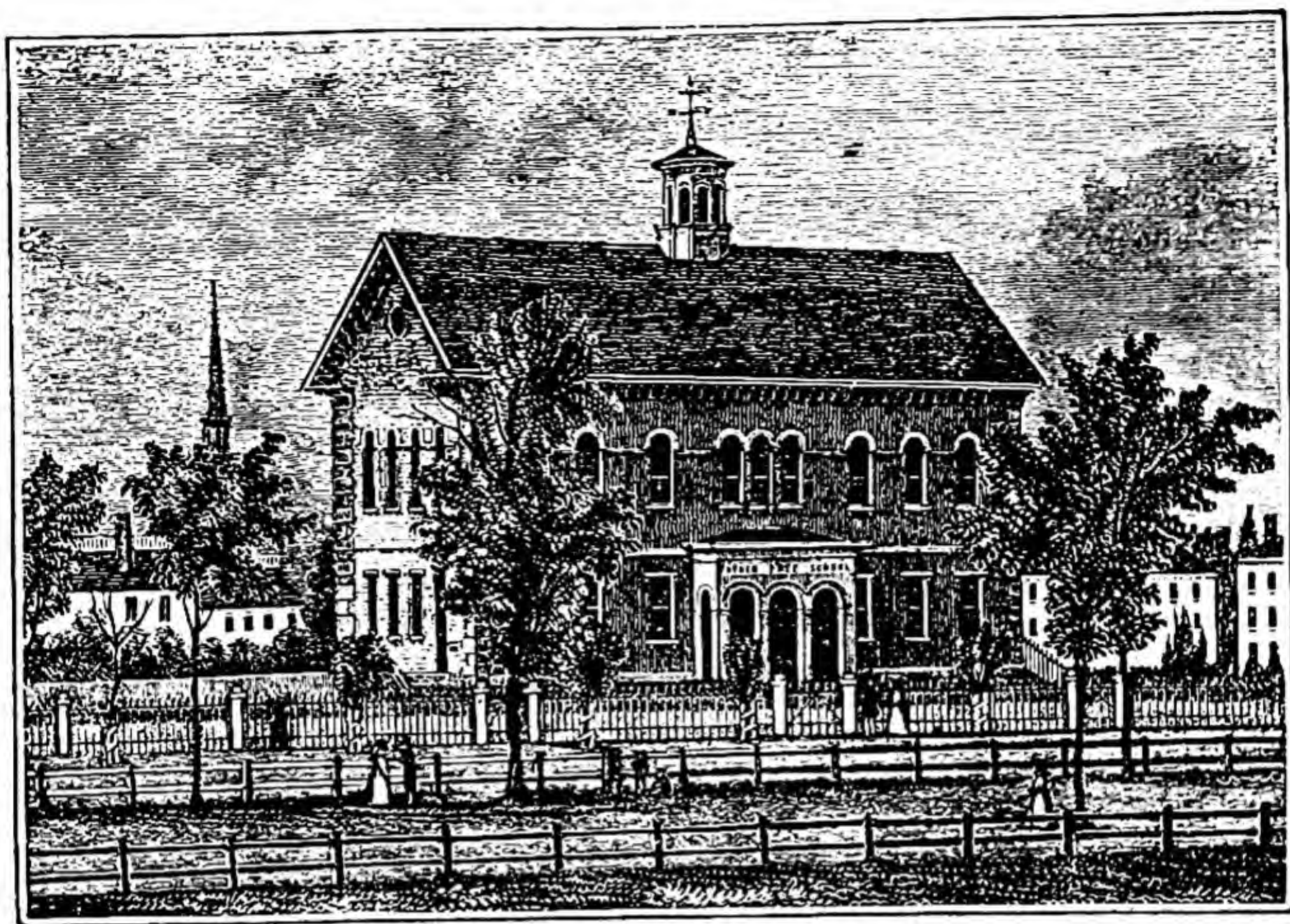
When the gathering-up of the many little permissively formed community-district schools into a series of county school systems or a state school system took place, and state supervision—in name at least—was inaugurated, many of the older States began aiding the districts to maintain their schools by levying a small state tax, or by making a state appropriation, and without passing through the intermediate step of county taxation. State and district taxation thus early became the type means for school support. In the newer States to the westward, county-unit taxation also was added to secure a still greater pooling of effort and a better equalization of burdens. These three forms of taxation are today the common means for school support in use in the United States.¹⁹

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST PUBLIC EDUCATION

The advocates of general taxation for the support of public schools, free to all, pressed the issue with the argument that education is an inalienable right of every child. They further contended that the state, in the interests of its own perpetuity, should provide an equal oppor-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 417-418.



Putnam Free School, Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1848

tunity of education. These were theoretical reasons of long standing. To these they added the more concrete arguments that public education would prevent crime and poverty, break down class distinctions, and provide instruction free from religious bias. They argued further that adequate advantages could not be provided in private institutions, pauper schools, or in public schools dependent upon voluntary local taxation.

The opposition rejoined that the education of the masses was a useless visionary project offering little prospect of success. As a North Carolina citizen expressed it: "If one is to keep a store or a school, or to be a lawyer or physician, such branches [as those offered in the common school] may perhaps be taught him; though I do not look upon them as by any means indispensable; but if he is to be a plain farmer, or a mechanic, they are of no manner of use, but rather a detriment."²⁰ It was further contended that public schools would impose

²⁰ A quotation cited by Edgar W. Knight, in a brochure "Gaining Public School Support," reprinted from *The High School Journal* (1928), XI, Nos. 6-8, p. 4.

an insupportable burden of taxation; that the state had no right to tax one man to educate another's children, or to tax him doubly if he preferred to send his children to private schools; that it would undermine parochial schools without substituting the much desired element of religious instruction; and finally, that public education would break down cherished class distinctions and reduce all to the dead level of mediocrity.²¹

DEVELOPMENT OF CITY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

The industrialization of the East and the spread of population along the water courses of the Mississippi Valley led to the growth of cities. The number of cities with a population of 8,000 and over increased from forty-four in 1840 to eighty-five in 1850. This was but the beginning of urbanization, as only 12½ per cent of the total population, by the latter date, were living in cities and towns. Yet the springing up of cities furnished a new problem for the schools.

The roots of city school administration go back into the system of administering the town and district schools of New England. There the town meeting originally exercised jurisdiction over the schools, but when, under the Massachusetts law of 1789, the school district came to be recognized as the unit of organization, this duty was delegated to the respective district school committees. As late as 1830 most district schools were small, few employing more than one or two teachers or enrolling as many as a hundred pupils. If the number of children residing in one community taxed the capacity of such a school, it was customary to subdivide the district and set up a new school. This process of subdivision, in the case of a rapidly growing city, might proceed until there were ten, twenty, or more school districts within the corporation limits. Since each of these districts was a separate taxing unit, maintaining its own school independently of other districts, confusion and inequality of opportunity inevitably resulted. Such a situation could not continue indefinitely. It is not surprising, therefore,

²¹ The arguments pro and con have been tabulated in considerable detail in Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States*, rev. ed., pp. 165-166.

that the demand for city-wide control of schools sprang almost simultaneously from many quarters.²²

The problem was solved by the centralization of authority under a city school board and a city superintendent. New Orleans, as early as 1826, organized two primary schools and a "central" school which it placed under a board of regents and a "director";²³ Buffalo established the office of school superintendent in 1837; Louisville, Lexington, and Maysville, Kentucky, and Providence in 1838; St. Louis in 1839; and Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1840. By 1870 there were over twenty-seven city superintendencies, and by 1885 practically every city in the union had established the office.

THE OFFICE OF STATE SUPERINTENDENT

When state school funds came to be established and the legislatures began to give aid to the local districts, there arose a demand for a state officer to manage funds and apportion them properly to the schools. This led to the office of state superintendent of schools. The duties of the position, largely clerical in character, were not extensive. For this reason the status of the state superintendent was insecure for a number of years. New York established the office in 1812 and appointed Gideon Hawley as the first superintendent. After nine years Hawley was dismissed and his duties were turned over to the secretary of state. Maryland established the office in 1826, but abolished it two years later. Vermont, about the same time, repeated this experience. Michigan, however, found the office of sufficient importance to retain it in continuous succession from 1829, the date of its establishment.²⁴

By the time of the Civil War every state in the union had made some provision for an official to care for the state's school interests.

²² Theodore L. Reller, *The Development of the City Superintendency of Schools in the United States*, published by the author, Philadelphia, 1935, Chap. II. A comprehensive treatment.

²³ Stuart G. Noble, "Early School Superintendents in New Orleans," *Journal of Educational Research* (Nov., 1931), pp. 274-279.

²⁴ E. P. Cubberley, *State School Administration*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1927, pp. 270-282.

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In about half of the states, however, the secretary of state was ex-officio state superintendent. It was only after 1860, when such duties as recommending courses of study, inspecting schools, editing and interpreting school laws, and publishing elaborate reports on the condition of the schools came within its province, that the office had either stability or prominence.

The plan of administering the schools through the secretary of the state school board, as in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, did not immediately spread beyond New England.²⁵

THE OFFICE OF COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT

A bulletin of the United States Office of Education thus outlined the conditions out of which the office of county superintendent of schools has evolved:

As education developed into a movement of state-wide significance there grew up a need of some responsibility for education by the State. When the States began to collect information and data concerning education, some one was needed for its collection. As the need for common schools increased, the State needed some one to promote the interest of common education. The States also needed some one as an "organ of communication between the State superintendent and the several township boards of education," and to check up on local school officials. In some instances in the beginning of this office it was felt that some one representing the country as a whole, rather than each local unit independently, would see that the State requirements were more uniformly carried out. The gifts of school lands by the Federal Government had to be looked after, and as they were scattered over the county, some one was needed for this purpose. For such reasons the office of county superintendency was established, although in the beginning it was not created outright as such in all States.²⁶

The office in some states grew out of the earlier township superintendency; in others it came as a specialized function of various county

²⁵ Iowa tried the New England plan for a year or two but abandoned it.

²⁶ N. William Newsom, *The Legal Status of the County Superintendent*, Bulletin No. 7, United States Office of Education, 1932, pp. 3-4.

boards having to do with the administration of land grants. Between 1830 and 1860 nearly all the states with the exception of the New England states, which continued to recognize the town as the unit of administration, established the office.

The early duties had to do with the keeping of records, the apportionment of school revenues, and the settlement of disputes regarding district boundaries. It was some years before the duties of school supervision came to be assumed by the office. The county superintendent was regarded as a political officer and was almost invariably elected by popular vote.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL MOVEMENT

From the beginning the reformers recognized the training of teachers as essential to the improvement of the public schools. They were interested not only in the supply of teachers, which was often deficient, but also in the capacity of teachers to reach the impoverished minds of the masses. Pestalozzi and the Germans had already pointed the way with their seminaries for teachers. Agitation for similar institutions in this country began under the leadership of Carter and Brooks in Massachusetts, Olmstead and Gallaudet in Connecticut, and Walter R. Johnson of Pennsylvania. Samuel R. Hall opened a private normal school at Concord, Vermont as early as 1823. Carter in 1827 undertook to influence the legislature of Massachusetts in another such institution which he projected at Lancaster, but failed to elicit state support for it. It was a decade later before Massachusetts, under the persuasion of Horace Mann, Brooks, and Carter, was induced to duplicate Edmund Dwight's offer of \$10,000 for teachers' seminaries. The first of the new institutions to be opened under these auspices was established at Lexington in 1838 with Cyrus Peirce as principal. Two others were opened the year following.²⁷

The agitation in Connecticut did not materialize until 1849, when a normal school was established with Henry Barnard as principal and ex-officio secretary of the state school board. In that year also John D.

²⁷ The seminaries were clearly based on the German pattern, yet strangely enough they were called *normal schools*. The term is of French origin, from *norm*, meaning standard or model.

Pierce secured an enactment for a normal school in Michigan, which was later founded at Ypsilanti. Illinois established the State Normal University in 1857, and Minnesota provided for a normal school shortly afterward.²⁸

New York at first met the issue with the subsidy of private academies, but in 1844 turned, not very enthusiastically, to the Massachusetts idea. Pennsylvania also tried to solve its teacher-training problem with the subsidy of private institutions, the Millersville and California schools being favored with state aid in the fifties and sixties. Wisconsin followed the New York plan of subsidizing academies until 1865, but Indiana had no normal school before that date except the short-lived seminary founded at New Harmony by Joseph Neef in 1826.

The early normal schools were frankly experimental in character. They were poorly taught, poorly attended, and generally unpopular. They achieved little success before Sheldon of Oswego imported Pestalozzian procedures after the middle of the century.

EUROPEAN APPRAISAL OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

Common Schools.—During the decade after 1830 many European travelers came to America to observe Jacksonian democracy at first hand and penned critical notes in their journals about American life, politics, and education. The observations of these travelers throw an interesting side light on the schools and educational theory of the early national period. Detached as they were from the situation, the journalists viewed the American scene with a perspective which enhances the value of their comments. Practically without exception they expressed amazement at the generous provision for education that was being made at that time. James Stuart²⁹ estimated that schools in New England and New York were reaching from two to three times as many children as did the schools in England and Scotland. Sir Charles Mur-

²⁸ A brief but comprehensive account of the normal school movement is to be found in Walter D. Agnew, *The Administration of Professional Schools for Teachers*, Warwick & York, Baltimore, 1924, Chap. I.

²⁹ James Stuart, *Three Years in North America* (Winter 1828–1829), Gilbert and Rivington, London, 1833, I, 318–320.

ray³⁰ commented on the prevalence of schools for "children of the poorest class in every habitable part of the country," and Francis J. Grund wrote:

With the exception of Protestant Germany, there is no country in which so much has been done for the education of children, as in the United States of America. In all the large cities of the Union there are public free schools, and there is scarcely a hamlet unprovided with the means of elementary education. The states of New England have, in this respect, taken the lead, and all others have since made the amplest provisions for this branch of national development.³¹

These comments are significant for two reasons: they indicate the relative standing of the American states in comparison with European nations with respect to facilities for public education; and they reveal the fact that there must have been a fairly general distribution of schools, particularly in the Northern and Eastern states, prior to the public school revival of the thirties and forties. The travelers were probably permitted to see only the best conditions, and their observations were in some instances more or less superficial, but in view of the concert of opinions there is undoubtedly a considerable measure of truth in what they had to say.

Secondary Schools.—While the Europeans gave unstinted praise to the American theory of elementary education and to the work of the lower schools, they condemned the theory and practice of secondary and higher institutions. In general they objected, as European critics continue to object, to the great variety of studies, the shortness of courses, and the superficial character of instruction. Captain Basil Hall complained that the classics were "neglected from end to end of America" and that the schools could not keep a boy in school long enough for him to learn either classics or sciences.³² Mrs. Trollope wrote:

³⁰ Charles A. Murray, *Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836*, Richard Bentley, London, 1839, II, 299.

³¹ Francis J. Grund, *The Americans, in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*, Marsh, Copen, and Lyon, Boston, 1837, p. 129.

³² Captain Basil Hall, *op. cit.*, II, 169.

Were we to read a prospectus of the system pursued in any of our [English secondary] public schools, and that of a first-rate seminary in America, we should be struck by the confined scholastic routine of the former, when compared to the varied and expansive scope of the latter; but let the examination go a little farther, and I believe it will be found that the old-fashioned discipline of England has produced something higher and deeper too, than that which roars so loud, and thunders in the index.³³

Striking at the heart of the matter was the penetrating criticism of Sir Charles Murray:

The process of mental cultivation in America is somewhat analogous to their agricultural system; in both cases they look too exclusively to the quantity of produce immediately to be obtained, and pay too little attention to the culture and improvement of the soil. It has often been remarked that an American course of collegiate education extends over a field that would occupy a man of good abilities forty years to master; but a student is supposed to have traveled over it in three or four years; and he *may* have traveled over it; but it is with the same advantage as some of our fashionable London loungers travel over Switzerland and Italy.

With equal advantage is a youth educated on the encyclopedia system, so pernicious to industry or to sterling knowledge and acquirement. The number of young men who acquire a taste for reading [Latin or Greek] is singularly small in America. They will tell a stranger who makes this observation that they are too busy, that they are engaged in mercantile and other affairs.³⁴

These critical comments on the American plan of secondary and higher education, issued more than a hundred years ago, are substantially the same as those that come from European sources today.³⁵ The policy of the nineteenth-century colleges and academies has been accepted as the American way. The experience of a hundred years has

³³ Frances E. Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, London, 1832, p. 262.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 226-227.

³⁵ Compare with the views of the former Minister of Education of Great Britain, H. A. L. Fisher, given in *The Literary Digest* (Jan. 24, 1925), pp. 27-80.

effected only slight modifications in the trend. The commentaries of the travelers, though respected in certain circles, have gone unheeded.

RÉSUMÉ

The public education movement of the nineteenth century was a humanitarian crusade much like the antislavery agitation and the temperance movement. Its leaders were reformers of the same zeal and steadfastness as those who promoted the cause of human welfare in other fields. New England and Ohio were the centers from which the movement emanated.

Between 1830 and 1860 in nearly every state there was an agitation of considerable magnitude for public schools. Propaganda societies were organized, conventions were held, and memorials were presented to the legislatures. The American Lyceum was the chief agency for spreading propaganda, but numerous local societies sprang up for this purpose.

This was not a proletarian uprising but a humanitarian movement in which the better class of people showed concern for the ignorant masses. The point at issue was that of providing public tax-supported schools free and open to all. On this issue the masses were often indifferent, and the majority of the propertied class was frequently hostile. Reforms were bitterly contested and but slowly enacted.

Nevertheless by 1860 the states generally had yielded to pressure and had provided state, county, and local school officers, established state school funds, passed regulations governing the examination of teachers, and, even in the most backward states, provided for the education of the poor at public expense. A few states had established normal schools and had attained the objective of public schools, more or less adequately supported by general taxation. As late as 1865 five Northern states were still operating schools under rate bills. But a favorable sentiment was being crystallized and the contests of the future were not to be so bitter. The foundations were thus laid for a substantial advance after the Civil War.

With the beginnings made between 1825 and 1860, responsibility for public schools was gradually to be shifted from the local districts to the state at large.

The Early National Period

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Prepare a biography of the earliest important leader of the public school movement in your state. Compare him with Horace Mann or Henry Barnard.
2. If you live in one of the older states review its educational history in the period under discussion and note progress since then.
3. To what extent do you think the movement toward democracy in government is responsible for public schools?
4. To what extent do you think that public schools were established from economic motives? (See Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, Chaps. III, IV.)
5. Trace the early history of the Massachusetts normal schools.

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CHAPTER TEN

The Rise of Native Institutions

The era of transplanting institutions was near the end by 1830. American educational leaders were now coming to understand that training for citizenship in a democracy called for something more than instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. More and more they were being impressed with the idea that the state should assume responsibility for instruction in the more advanced subjects. Accordingly they exerted their ingenuity to adapt existing institutions to the purposes of an expanding curriculum. This chapter will trace the process of development of the three typical American educational institutions whose organization is well known by every student of education today—the elementary school, the high school, the state university.

I. THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

AN AMERICAN PRODUCT

Facts bearing directly upon the origin of the elementary school are scanty, a circumstance which has given rise to controversy as to its beginning. Some years ago two well-known educators engaged in a spirited debate on the issue as to whether the elementary school was

a native product or a transplanted German *Volksschule*.¹ The parties to this dispute, as well as others who had given close attention to the matter, drew their conclusions chiefly from data relating to the framework of organization. It is not the present writer's intention to participate in this controversy but rather to submit data that will enable the reader to arrive at an independent conclusion.

The eight-year graded school as we know it developed in this country through the normal process of evolution. It is a native institution, originating in conditions peculiar to America after about 1750 and growing to maturity during the first half of the nineteenth century. The postulate of democracy—that it is not only possible but desirable to improve the masses by education—was the compelling motive behind its development.

GROWTH OF THE CURRICULUM CAME FIRST

The essential feature of education to be observed in this connection is not the present graded system but the growth of the curriculum. Avid interest in new fields of knowledge led to the introduction of many studies that had never before held a place in any school program. (Abundant evidence on this point is to be found in Chapter V, "Secularization of the Curriculum"). Growth, exuberant and unpremeditated, is written large in the history of the pre-Civil War curriculum. School organization to accommodate this enlargement of the teaching program was clearly a secondary consideration which had to be provided as an afterthought. A brief review of the facts in the case may here be in order.

The curriculum of the colonial elementary school was so brief that it could be covered by a bright boy in a year or two, and so narrow that it could be contained in one small volume. The period of expansion and elaboration began before 1800. Webster's three-book series,

¹ Charles H. Judd, "Prussia and Our Schools," *The New Republic*, XIV (April 20, 1918), 347-349. Also "Shall We Continue to Imitate Prussia?" *School and Society*, VII (June 29, 1918), 751-754. Paul Monroe, "Further Consideration of Prussia and Our Schools," *School and Society*, VII (June 15, 1918), 691-694. Also "Shall We Continue to Advocate Reforms by False Arguments?" *Ibid.*, VIII, 290-292.

containing a speller, a reader, and an English grammar, started the movement. Jedidiah Morse and Nathaniel Dwight published geographies in 1795. Early in the new century Lindley Murray prepared a graded series of readers and a similar set of grammars. Arithmetic, which was already being taught in many schools, awaited only the appearance of Warren Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi* (1821) to surge forward in popularity. By this time United States history, civil government, drawing, music, and physiology were in the offing. These subjects were justified in the name of democracy, and it was expected that the masses generally would be given access to them.

CONTRIBUTION OF THE ACADEMIES

The academies were the hotbeds in which many new subjects were started. As these were unstandardized private institutions they were free to teach elementary and collegiate subjects as well as secondary.

The English departments, which generally speaking ran parallel with the classical departments in these institutions, offered a wide range of modern studies. Preparatory to these two upper-grade courses in most of the academies was a beginners' course which at first included merely the three R's. When simplified English grammars, geographies, histories, and arithmetics appeared, along with advanced reading books, these were inserted in the curriculum immediately above the preparatory studies. The regents of the University of the State of New York announced that forty-seven academies reporting for the year 1829 were teaching grammar, arithmetic, and geography. These subjects were also present in most private academy curriculums.

This enlargement of the academy programs was taken care of by the respective masters in any way they saw fit, as there was no grading or standardization of courses in those days. Thus, the Leicester Academy in Massachusetts provided in 1824 a lower division in which grammar, geography, and arithmetic were offered. The first consideration in the academies was to provide for the teaching of additional studies. As new subjects claimed attention on the upper level, the simpler ones were forced downward into the elementary list.

GROWTH OF THE COMMON SCHOOL CURRICULUM

At the same time the common schools were reaching upward. The Massachusetts law of 1789 had ordered the district schools to instruct the children in the "English language" (which may be taken to mean grammar), the three R's, and decent behavior. When this law was amended in 1824, it enlarged the curriculum to include geography as well as grammar and the other subjects. The high school law, passed three years later, made this curriculum obligatory for all towns of fewer than one hundred families. Since the district schools of Massachusetts and other states were locally controlled and supported, there was a marked variation not only in facilities and efficiency of instruction but also in curricular offerings. The richer districts, when disposed to provide more advanced studies, often added them, while the poorer ones offered merely the three R's.

In New York City in 1826 the Free School Society offered a number of upper-grade subjects at higher rates than were charged beginners. The practice of the Society was evidently to permit pupils who were prepared for these subjects to advance by individual preference as far as they chose to go. The argument in the Kalamazoo Decision (see p. 330) indicates that the course of the common schools was not by any means confined to the three R's, and cites as evidence a statement of State Superintendent J. D. Pierce of Michigan that he had taught even Latin in a district school.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF BOSTON

The development of the elementary curriculum proceeded more rapidly in the schools of the cities and larger towns than in the district schools. This is well illustrated in the case of Boston. Writing schools, offering writing, arithmetic, and sometimes reading, provided all that the town afforded in the way of elementary education before the Revolution. In 1789, three reading schools and three writing schools were established for children between the ages of seven and fourteen who had "previously received the instruction usual at the

Women's Schools." Strange as it may seem, the public schools did not admit pupils who had not already learned to read and spell. Moreover, to secure the full advantage of elementary education at public expense the pupil was required to attend a reading school for a few hours and then go to a writing school, located in another part of the city, for the remainder of the day. The scope of instruction offered in the respective types of school is indicated in the following quotation from the School Committee's Minutes for 1789:

That the following Books be used in the Reading Schools. viz.—

The Holy Bible.

Webster's Spelling Book, or 1st part of his Institute.

The young Ladies Accidence—And

Webster's American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking; or 3d part of his Grammatical Institute.

That the Masters introduce the following Books when found expedient, viz.—The Children's Friend.

Morse's Geography, abridged.

That the News Papers be introduced occasionally, at the discretion of the Masters.

That the upper Class in Reading Schools be instructed in Epistolary Writing and other Composition.

That an uniform method of teaching Arithmetic be used in the several Writing Schools, viz.

Numeration.

Simple Addition.

—Subtraction.

—Multiplication.

—Division.

Compound Addition.

—Subtraction.

—Multiplication.

—Division.

Reduction.

The single Rule of Three, direct.

Practice.

Tare and Trett, Interest, Fellowship, Exchange, &c. are considered as included in the above Rules.

Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.

That the Children begin to learn Arithmetic at 11 Years of Age.
That at 12 Years of Age, the Children be taught to make Pens.²

The seven-year program of this "double-headed" system represents a significant advance beyond the narrow conception of elementary education, prevalent in the district schools. The curriculum was now being enriched by the addition of materials in reading and geography. History also was shortly to be introduced.

Other changes were in process. A new type of building was erected in which the writing school was located on the lower floor and the reading school on the upper. This step was preliminary to uniting the two schools into an English grammar school. The English Classical (High) School, organized in 1821, capped off the system. In the meantime the city had recognized its obligation to teach beginners and by 1822 was receiving children as young as four years in the forty-two infant, or primary, schools which were being maintained.³ At first the primary schools were entirely separate from the grammar schools. Later the two types were housed in the same building, the primary occupying the ground floor and the grammar school the two floors above. From this practice the merging of the courses of the two schools into a continuous program which would articulate with that of the high school mentioned above, was a logical sequence. The process of grading will be described shortly.

EXPERIMENTAL GROWTH IN OTHER CITIES

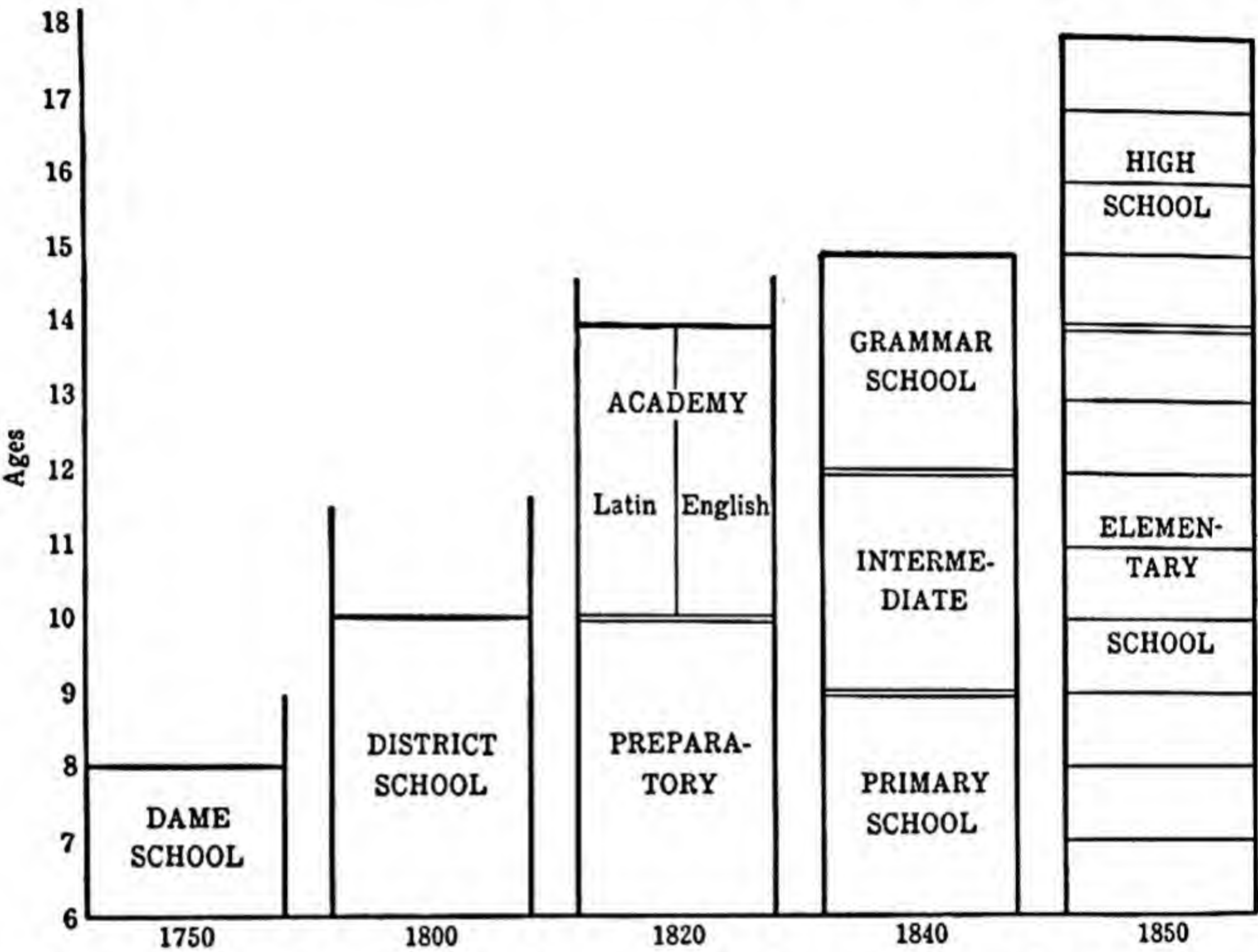
Other cities and large towns met the problem of administering the lengthening list of school subjects in different ways, but in general they employed plans similar to that developed in Boston. High schools, like the famous English Classical School, appeared in many places. Below there was the usual primary school of from two to four years and one or more intermediate schools, varying from place to place in number and type. For instance, in Troy, New York, the three-year primary

² Pauline Holmes, *A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School (1635-1695)*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1935. Appendix X, pp. 424-429, contains a photostatic reproduction of the School Committee's Minutes (1789).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

The Early National Period

course was followed by a three-year intermediate school, which in turn was followed by a three-year grammar school and a four-year high school. In Newark, New Jersey, a three-year intermediate school stood between a three-year primary school and a four-year high school. The extreme in the subdivision of schools was reached in Toledo, Ohio,



The Evolution of a Graded School System. The Ages and Dates Are Approximate.

where two-year primary, secondary, intermediate, and grammar school units led up to a three-year high school. It is clear that there was a wide variation among the cities with respect to the number of schools classified as elementary, the names applied to the several schools, and the number of years embraced by each. Thus, the pupil progressed by promotion from school to school rather than year by year in the same school. Elementary schools of different levels were usually in the same building. The total length of the elementary course, which was even shorter than six years in some of the district schools, varied in the cities from six to nine years. Adjustment on the eight-year level came after the middle of the century through the process of trial, error, and imitation of the successful choice.

GRADING OF THE SCHOOLS

Grading by years also came through experimentation. The way had been prepared much earlier by the introduction of group instruction in the monitorial schools. Subdivision of the course into primary and intermediate schools was a step in the same direction. During the decade following 1830 Samuel A. Burnside, Henry Barnard, and Horace Mann urged grading in the interest of school efficiency.

The beginning of grading, as we at present understand the term, seems to have begun in the New Quincy Grammar School of Boston in 1848, where, under the principalship of John D. Philbrick, a significant innovation was made. A new building with twelve classrooms was erected. The instruction was graded, and the pupils were distributed according to advancement among twelve assistant teachers. The experiment must have pleased the Boston School committee, for Philbrick was appointed city school superintendent in 1857. In the latter capacity he set about the grading of the primary schools in a similar manner. From the middle of the century on, city and state school authorities agitated the matter, and favored communities enacted the reform. Nevertheless grading was not accomplished in the rural schools of some states before about 1900.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Influences from abroad contributed to the rise of the elementary school. Concern for the masses was being felt in Prussia, France, and England as well as in America. Prussia in particular had forged ahead in the matter of providing an efficiently organized public school system. Americans were familiar with what was going on there. Victor Cousin's meticulous description of the Prussian system,⁴ when translated into English, found extensive circulation in Massachusetts and Michigan. Calvin Stowe's report was widely read. Horace Mann, Henry

⁴ Victor Cousin had been commissioned by the French government in 1831 to make a study of the Prussian schools. His *Report on the Condition of Public Instruction in Prussia* was published in France in 1832, translated into English in 1834, and reprinted in New York in 1835.

The Early National Period

Barnard, and other American leaders went to Europe to observe conditions at first hand and came back expressing deep admiration for the German system. Americans in nearly every state were eager to get suggestions for improvement, and it would be folly to say that they paid no attention to ideas coming from abroad. Nevertheless it is clear that the public school movement was well under way in this country before information relative to the German schools was available. The development of the American elementary school may have been slightly modified by foreign influence, particularly on the side of methodology, but it can hardly be claimed that the institution was a transplanted *Volkschule*.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, THE RESULT OF EVOLUTION

From what has gone before it should be apparent that the eight-year graded elementary school attained its standard form through a process of evolution. The stages in this process were five: (1) the beginning in the early district schools with programs limited to the three R's; (2) expansion of the curriculum during the early national period; (3) the preparation of graded series of readers, arithmetics, and grammars; (4) the organization of primary and intermediate schools to accommodate expansion; (5) the merging of primary and intermediate schools into one institution with a continuous graded course. The period required for this transformation was the span of fifty years immediately preceding the Civil War. The motive is to be found in the growing conception of the function of education in a democratic society. The conclusion that the American elementary school is a native institution, springing from conditions peculiar to this country, seems to be inevitable.

II. HOW WE CAME TO HAVE HIGH SCHOOLS

GRADUAL ADAPTATION

In Chapter Four we observed how the academy emerged from the combination of the colonial English school with the Latin grammar school. In the present chapter we shall see how the process of evolution

led to the development of the public high school from the private academy. Changing conditions, as the reader will see, brought about the modification of an existing institution rather than the creation of a new and entirely different institution.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

Franklin's Philadelphia Academy met the difficulty of presenting an orderly arrangement of the various subjects by organizing them into three schools, the English, the Latin, and the mathematical. Students applying for admission were given their choice of the three courses. Although the elective system had been employed from a very early date, this grouping of the subjects in parallel courses was to become a feature in the organization of many succeeding academies. In 1788 Erasmus Hall and Clinton Academies in New York were offering two courses under the respective headings of "classical department" and "English department." The Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire also offered these two departments. The courses in the English department throw an interesting side light on the transition from the academy to the high school. Compare the two following three-year programs:

English Department of Phillips Exeter Academy, 1818

For the First Year.—English grammar including exercises in Reading; in Parsing, and Analysing, in the correction of bad English; Punctuation and Prosody; Arithmetic; Geography; and Algebra through Simple Equations.

For the Second Year.—English grammar continued; Geometry, Plane Trigonometry and its application to heights and distances; mensuration of Sur. and Sol.; Elements of Ancient History; Logic; Rhetoric; English Composition; Declamation and exercises of the forensic kind.

For the Third Year.—Surveying; Navigation; Elements of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy with experiments; Elements of Modern History, particularly of the United States; Moral and Political Philosophy, with English Composition, Forensics, and Declamation continued.⁵

⁵ Quoted in Alexander Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1918, p. 179.

Boston English Classical School, 1821

First Class.—Composition; reading from the most approved authors; exercises in criticism, comprising critical analyses of the language, grammar, and style of the best English authors, their errors and beauties; Declamation; Geography; Arithmetic continues.

Second Class.—Composition, Reading, Exercises in Criticism, Declamation; Algebra; Ancient and Modern History and Chronology; Logic; Geometry; Plane Trigonometry, and its applications to mensuration of heights and distances; Navigation; Surveying; Mensuration of Surfaces and Solids; Forensic Discussions.

Third Class.—Composition; Exercises in Criticism; Declamation; Mathematics; Logic; History, particularly that of the United States; Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy; Moral and Political Philosophy.⁶

It is clear that the two curriculums had much in common. Observe, for instance, that the outstanding features in both school programs are English, including literature and composition, history, and the vocational subjects, arithmetic, surveying, and navigation. In fact, the origin of the English Classical School in Boston, which is generally believed to be the first high school, is to be found in the separation of the English curriculum from the group of courses then prevalent in the academies. Note the significance of the following excerpt from the report of the committee which founded the Boston English Classical School.

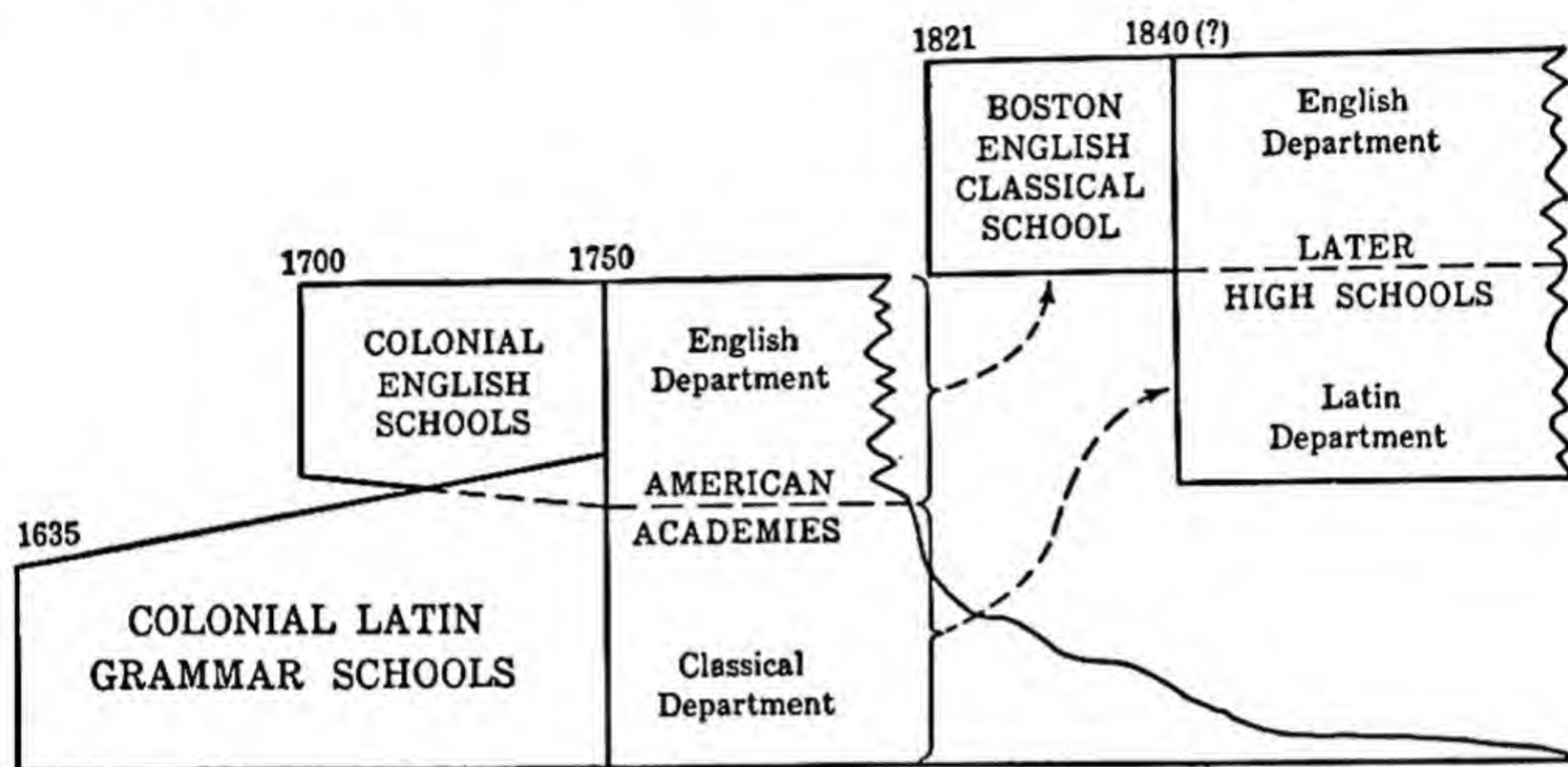
A parent who wishes to give a child an education that shall fit him for active life, and shall serve as a foundation for eminence in his profession, whether Mercantile or Mechanical, is under the necessity of giving him a different education from any which our public schools can now furnish. Hence many children are separated from their parents and sent to private academies in this vicinity to acquire that instruction which cannot be obtained at the public seminaries.⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 186–187.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 185–186.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE DUAL COURSE

In 1824 the name of the Boston English Classical School was changed to English High School, but as far as the curriculum is concerned, no special significance is attached to the change. The Committee in 1829 permitted the addition of history and philosophy, chemistry, in-



The Evolution of the High School

tellectual philosophy, linear drawing, and logic. Seven years later trigonometry, French, and the Constitution of the United States were also added. After this expansion of the program, no further changes were made until 1852, when certain courses in mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy were added. This extension of the curriculum, however, did not provide for college entrance. In this respect the committee adhered to its original purpose. The new institution was not to be, in any sense of the word, a college-preparatory school. Pupils who desired to prepare themselves for college were directed to take the five-year classical course offered in the Boston Latin School.

The exclusion of the college-preparatory function by the Boston English High School furnished a precedent for the same practice in schools elsewhere, but college-preparatory departments were usually organized whenever new schools were established. The Philadelphia High School, for instance, in 1840 offered a three-course curriculum including the standard classical course for pupils expecting to enter col-

lege. About the same time Lowell and Springfield, Massachusetts, recognized this dual function of the high school, and soon high schools generally were following these examples in preference to that of the Boston school.

The problem of providing secondary education for girls was met in Worcester and Boston by the organization of separate high schools for girls. Lowell met the same problem by incorporating into the high school a "female" department which offered courses that were parallel to those open only to boys. Both precedents were to be extensively followed: that of Boston mainly in the East; that of Lowell mainly in the West. Coeducation, in the sense in which we now understand the term, was logically the next step.

During the forty-year period immediately preceding the Civil War, a great diversity of practice was to be found in the high schools of the country. There was little agreement with regard to plans for organizing the courses, subjects that should be taught, the terminology that should be employed, or even the number of years that the courses should run. Subjects that were later to be found only in the college or university courses were then found in the high school programs, side by side with other subjects that were later to be shifted downward into the elementary school.

The evolution of the twelve-year graded plan in Pennsylvania, exemplifies a process of development which was probably typical of that in most states:

While the high school, as it evolved, was the upper grade or grades in a system which had any number of grades from six to thirteen, this expansion upward showed a very definite tendency to terminate with the twelfth grade. Twelve years of schooling were probably found to be sufficient to prepare students for various forms of life-activity or for higher institutions. Below the high schools, the number of grades gradually came to be eight, in general practice.⁸

Cities other than Boston felt the same urge to establish public secondary schools, and as they too boasted academies and English schools

⁸ James Mullern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, published by the author, Philadelphia, 1933, p. 606.

it is not surprising that high schools cropped out about the same time in New York City, Portland, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Despite the possibility of suggestions from abroad, it may be said that all these institutions were native products, springing from conditions peculiar to this country more than a century ago. Massachusetts, in 1827, passed a law requiring towns of 500 families to establish high schools. Other New England states followed this example. By 1860, high schools were to be found in such widely separated cities as Chicago, Louisville, New Orleans, Mobile, and San Francisco. There were well over a hundred institutions of this type in the United States by that time, the majority being located in New England.⁹ These mid-century high schools differed from the contemporary academies only in the matter of support. The academies were dependent upon private resources, while the high schools were supported wholly or in part by public funds.

The establishment of nonsectarian, free, day high schools, open alike to both sexes, may be termed an "upward thrust of Jacksonian democracy," for the temper of the times demanded the removal of "the stamp of class rigidity, sect, and charity from the training of the masses." That these new institutions should prepare both for college and for the immediate affairs of life was a social demand in accord with the same principle. Democracy glorified the common man and willed, wherever possible, to provide opportunities for him to rise to distinction.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

For the purpose of this study, the evolution of the high school need not be traced further. The evidence submitted points to the conclusion that the high school did not properly originate with the founding of the English Classical School of Boston in 1821. More explicitly the evidence indicates: (1) that the motives leading to the establishment of

⁹ Reliable statistics are not available. The United States Bureau of Education in 1904 asked all high schools to report the date of founding. Since many institutions began as Latin grammar schools or private academies long before they were converted into high schools, it is not possible to tell whether the dates given are for the founding of the high schools. *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1904, Vol. II, pp. 1782-1989.*

the celebrated Boston school had been present continuously during the preceding century, when numerous semivocational private schools had been established; (2) that the embryo of the curriculum of the Boston school had long been in vogue either as that of the colonial English schools or as the English department of contemporary academies; and (3) that the evolution of the four-year high school, as we now know the institution, was not complete until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, when girls were admitted and when preparation for college through a parallel classical course was incorporated (a classical course which, by the way, carried forward the curriculum of the colonial Latin grammar school and the classical department of the academies). That the Boston English Classical School was the first public day school of secondary grade to offer instruction which did not give preparation for college is a fact that need not be questioned, but this fact is relatively unimportant in the study of the origin of the high school. The process of evolution which ultimately brought about the present four-year high school began with the transplantation of the eighteenth-century English schools and culminated about 1840 in the organization of free day schools which prepared boys and girls either for college or for the immediate affairs of life, according to their choice.¹⁰

III. THE STATE UNIVERSITY ¹¹

BEGINNINGS

The capstone of the public school system in forty-four of the forty-eight states is the state university. The conception most prevalent at present is that of a liberal arts college combined with one or more professional schools and perhaps a school for graduate study. This type of institution is as much a native product as the elementary school or the high school. Though the influence which prompted its founding was not always the same as that which promoted the growth of the

¹⁰ Stuart G. Noble, "How We Came to Have High Schools," *School Review* (Feb., 1935), XLIII, 99-103.

¹¹ This account of the rise of the state university has been purposely abridged. It is hoped, however, that it is of sufficient length to give the reader an idea of the place of this institution in the state public school system.

lower schools, the two forces were active at the same time. The rough outline of the state university, as we now know it, was practically complete by 1860.

The northeastern states, including Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the seats of most of the colonial private colleges, were slow to establish state universities. In certain instances the respective states contributed aid to these institutions and to this extent recognized them as quasi-state institutions. Newly established state universities have recently been opened in Connecticut and Massachusetts.¹²

The state university owes much to the private colleges. The idea of the classical college which Harvard had borrowed from Cambridge became the core of the first state universities. Yale graduates who founded the college unit of the University of Georgia introduced after 1800 the practices of their alma mater. The liberal outline of studies which was offered at the opening of the University of North Carolina in 1795 seems to have been derived from Pennsylvania. The professional and graduate schools which in the course of time came to cluster about the arts college in the state university, developed earlier in Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Pennsylvania. In fact, there was for many years little difference between public and private institutions, except in the source of revenue.

FEDERAL LAND GRANTS

Acceptance of the principle of state support antedates the adoption of the federal Constitution. The Ordinance of 1787, governing the Northwest Territory, ordered that "not more than two complete townships be given perpetually for the purpose of a university." This policy was confirmed in the admission of Ohio to the union in 1802, with the provision that two townships be reserved for this purpose. Since the admission of Indiana in 1816, each new state has received at least two townships and Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona, admitted since

¹² The University of Pennsylvania, outgrowth of Franklin's Philadelphia Academy, is still a privately controlled institution, although it receives aid from the state.

1900, have received from three to six hundred thousand acres each.¹³

The Atlantic states, of course, enjoyed no benefit from such land grants, as the states in this area when joining the union had retained possession of lands lying within their colonial boundaries. This fact led to efforts in these states to appropriate the facilities of the private colleges to public purposes. Several attempts were made to convert William and Mary College into a state university. The legislature of Massachusetts undertook to regulate the affairs of Harvard, and the legislature of Pennsylvania tried to get control of this private university. The uncertain relationship between the state and the private institutions was finally clarified by the Dartmouth College Decision.

THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE DECISION

This decision was of such significance to the future of higher education that the case may well be outlined here in some detail. The legislature of New Hampshire, with a view to turning Dartmouth College into a state university, undertook to modify the charter granted the institution many years earlier by George III. This aroused friends of Dartmouth to contest the validity of the legislature's action under the Constitution. Daniel Webster, Dartmouth's most distinguished alumnus, was employed as advocate and pleaded the case of his college before the United States Supreme Court. The Court rendered its momentous decision in 1819, declaring that the charter of Dartmouth was a contract which the legislature of the state had no right to violate without cause. The decision not only continued the existence of Dartmouth College as a private institution but served as a precedent insuring the perpetuity of all similar private corporations. Religious and philanthropic agencies now proceeded with confidence to set up private institutions of learning, and within the next quarter century hundreds of charters were granted for this purpose. The decision, on the other hand, turned the attention of legislatures to the establishment of state universities subject to their control.

¹³ E. P. Cubberley and Edward C. Elliott, *State and County School Administration*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1915, pp. 79-82.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

Until late in the colonial era the colleges offered no specialized professional training save for the ministry. The arts course was everywhere deemed sufficient even for theological students until Princeton organized a separate theological school in 1812. According to early custom students read law or medicine in the offices of experienced practitioners. After about 1800 sporadic private schools offered meager training for these professions to small groups of students for a few months at a time. Pennsylvania established the first separate medical school in connection with an institution of learning in 1765, and King's (Columbia) the second in 1767.

Education for the legal profession moved more slowly, for the simple reason that there was practically no body of literature available for study except Blackstone's *Commentaries*. Columbia appointed James Kent professor of law in 1793, but even under his able ministration the school did not thrive. An impetus to the teaching of the subject was given, however, when Professor, later Chancellor, Kent published his celebrated *Commentaries on the American Law*, a treatise which supplied the longfelt need for a textbook in this field. The Harvard Law School, under the direction of Joseph Story, earlier a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, soon attracted students from all parts of the country and set legal education upon a substantial basis.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

In his plan for the University of Virginia Thomas Jefferson conceived of a higher institution as the head of a state system of public primary and secondary schools, taking the choicest youth of the land and preparing them for leadership in the service of the state. When the Commissioners, appointed to draft a plan for the proposed university, met at Rockfish Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, in 1818, Jefferson, as one of the Commissioners, set forth the details of his scheme. Few educators of his own, or in fact any, time have been able to give a more succinct statement of the objectives of such an institution than did Jefferson on the occasion, a fact which the following quotation attests:

And this brings us to the point at which are to commence the higher branches of education, of which the Legislature require the development; those, for example, which are,

To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufacturers and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order;

To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves.¹⁴

To attain these objectives Jefferson outlined a program of studies comprising the ancient and modern languages, pure and applied mathematics, the natural sciences, medicine, political economy, law, history, rhetoric, belles-lettres, and the fine arts.¹⁵ In fact, he included—in addition to the classical studies, which were to serve as tools for learning the more advanced subjects in other fields—virtually the whole list of the newer secular studies. Decidedly the institution was to concern itself with the upper reaches of scholarship in a broad range of studies. The founder left no doubt that he expected the curriculum

¹⁴ Charles F. Arrowood, *Thomas Jefferson and Public Education in a Republic*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1930, Chap. VIII. Report of the commissioners quoted.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 143 ff.

to function in useful citizenship as well as individual satisfaction.¹⁶

With the opening of the institution in 1825, students were not required to take all the subjects offered, as was the case in the colonial colleges. Instead, the course of study was divided into ten sections from which they might elect the subjects of their interest. Another striking innovation was the absence of theology in the curriculum, although ethics was offered. Medicine and law were at first regular university studies on a parity with the languages and the natural sciences. A separate department (school) of medicine, however, was organized in 1837, and a separate department of law in 1850. In its theory of the function of a state university and in its emphasis upon the newer studies, the University of Virginia pointed the way for the development of later state universities.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In the evolution of this type of institution, the University of Michigan toward the end of the period was to contribute an important item. Organized at first on the model of the University of the State of New York (see p. 119) in 1817, this university for a time reflected the French influence upon higher education. The central unit was established and several secondary schools were organized as branches before the comprehensive plan of administration was given up.

Michigan's contribution to the idea of a state university was made after 1851, when Henry P. Tappan became president. Before this date, as many as a hundred American scholars, including the well-known Edward Everett, George Tichnor, George Bancroft, Henry W. Longfellow, John Lathrop Motley, and Theodore D. Woolsey had studied in German universities and had returned expressing the highest praise for the institutions of that country. Tappan was fascinated with the German plan of university administration and introduced it at Michigan, giving a new impetus to the study of the sciences by instituting the

¹⁶ Documentary materials relating to the early history of the University of Virginia and other state universities in the South have recently been published. See Edgar W. Knight, *A Documentary History of Education in the South: The Rise of the State University*, III, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1952.

degree of bachelor of science. His administration also saw the introduction of the German seminar method in the teaching of history.

EVOLUTION OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY

Thus the American state university arose from influences coming from various sources. Here again we have an example of a native institution, alert to receive suggestions and willing to experiment, charting its course from year to year. By 1860, it had been generally recognized as an essential unit in the American system of public education. The newer states of the Mississippi Valley promptly utilized their land grants for this purpose. This was only the beginning, but it forecast the full development in the prosperous years ahead.

RÉSUMÉ

The thesis maintained in the present chapter is that the eight-grade elementary school, the four-year high school, and the state university are distinctively American institutions.

These institutions grew out of conditions prevalent in this country prior to the Civil War. An expanding curriculum had to be taken care of by a democratic society coming more and more to recognize its obligations to the common man. The familiar grade school slowly evolved to supply the increasing curricular wants of the masses. The high school came about through the gradual adaptation of the old-time Latin school, the colonial English school, and the academy, to the purposes of public secondary education. The state university came from the colonial college, which by degrees was stripped of its theological character and made to conform to the secular ideals of post-Revolutionary leaders. In considering the process of development through which each of these institutions passed, it is well to remember their flexible constitution and their responsiveness to suggestions from without. They undoubtedly owed much to ideas from abroad but more to the experience of private institutions in this country. The development of these institutions pays tribute to the ability of the American people to create social machinery as well as mechanical devices, and the ability to adapt this machinery to changing conditions.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Make a further study of the controversy as to whether the American graded elementary school was a transplanted Prussian *Volksschule*.
2. Compare the account of the origin of the high school, as given in this chapter, with that given in a text in secondary education.
3. In what sense may the University of Virginia be regarded as the first state university? In what sense may the University of Michigan be regarded as the first? What of the claims of the University of Vermont, chartered in 1791; the University of North Carolina, opened in 1795; the University of Georgia, chartered in 1785 and opened in 1800?

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Advent of New Method

THE FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND CHILD NATURE

Textbooks and pedagogical treatises of the seventeenth century and even earlier had sensed the need for simplifying subject matter for little children. The primers had begun with rhymes of one-syllable words. Pictures had been introduced. Plays and games had been used to make book learning more palatable. Mulcaster, Comenius, Locke, and other educators, had urged teachers to seek the child's mental level. In all this, however, there seems to have been but an imperfect understanding of the nature of the maturing child.

ROUSSEAU AND EDUCATION ACCORDING TO NATURE

It was not until after the publication of Rousseau's epoch-making treatise on education, *Émile*, in 1762, that we find the true beginning of modern teaching methods. Rousseau in this book objected to the prevalent practice of French dancing masters in forcing children to conform to the conventions of adult social life. He also expressed his disapproval of the usual procedure of requiring children to memorize facts and principles before they were able to understand what they were being taught. "Take the very reverse of the current practice," he wrote, "and you will almost always do right."

Rousseau believed that education should be conducted according

to the child's maturing instincts and interests. The following quotation from *Émile* sets forth his theory on this point:

Nature would have children be children before being men. If we wish to pervert this order, we shall produce precocious fruits which will have neither maturity nor flavor, and will speedily deteriorate; we shall have young doctors and old children. Childhood has its own way of seeing, thinking, and feeling, and nothing is more foolish than to try to substitute ours for them.¹

Rousseau believed not only that education should be adapted to the maturity of the child but that the data of instruction should be obtained very largely from the natural world. He prescribed that *Émile*, his ideal child, be brought up in the country where he might observe the works of nature at first hand. Here *Émile* was to acquire scientific knowledge through his own experience. Rousseau outlined the method as follows:

Make your pupil attentive to natural phenomena, and you will soon make him curious; but, in order to nourish his curiosity never be in haste to satisfy it. Ask questions that are within his comprehension, and leave him to resolve them. Let him know nothing because you have told it to him, but because he has comprehended it himself. He is not to learn science, but to discover it.²

The romantic philosopher did not undertake to put his teachings to the test of practice. This he left to more realistic followers of later generations. He succeeded, however, in shunting theory into new channels. When he called attention to the necessity of adapting education to the maturity of the child, he prompted an interest in child psychology that has ever since been closely associated with methods of teaching. His voice was the earliest to be raised against formal studies and the institutionalization of education, and when he expressed his preference for the book of Nature instead of abstract verbal instruction, he started a movement that revolutionized primary instruction.

¹ William H. Payne, ed., *Rousseau's Émile or Treatise on Education*, 1893, p. 54. Used by permission of Appleton-Century-Crofts.

² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

PESTALOZZI AND SOCIAL REFORM THROUGH EDUCATION

The German-Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) took his cue from Rousseau. As a youth who was interested primarily in social reform Pestalozzi grasped the significance of education as a means for improving the wretched living conditions of the peasants of his native Switzerland. From the start, however, he recognized the futility of employing the formal instruction of his day in attempting to regenerate the masses. Accordingly he began to experiment along the lines suggested by Rousseau and devoted the remainder of a long lifetime to the quest for a process of reaching the common people with a type of education that would do them the most good.

The children with whom Pestalozzi had to deal were of the underprivileged classes. They were poor in inherited power and altogether lacking in cultural background. Their needs were of a most elementary character—physical and moral, more particularly, than intellectual. It behooved their teacher, therefore, to descend to their level before attempting to raise them to his.

PESTALOZZI'S NEW METHOD

Frankly facing his problem, Pestalozzi struggled to discover an appropriate solution. In the course of time he was successful. The following excerpt from his pedagogical romance, *Leonard and Gertrude*, typifies both the form and spirit of his teaching.

Although Gertrude thus exerted herself to develop very early the manual dexterity of her children, she was in no haste for them to learn to read and write. But she took pains to teach them early how to speak; for, as she said, "of what use is it for a person to be able to read and write, if he cannot speak?—since reading and writing are only an artificial sort of speech." To this end she used to make the children pronounce syllables after her in regular succession, taking them from an old A-B-C book she had. This exercise in correct and distinct articulation was, however, only a subordinate object in her whole scheme of education, which embraced a true comprehension of life itself. Yet she never adopted the tone



Painting of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, by Konrad Grob

of instructor toward her children; she did not say to them: "Child, this is your head, your nose, your hand, your finger"; or: "Where is your eye, your ear?"—but instead, she would say: "Come here, child, I will wash your little hands," "I will comb your hair," or: "I will cut your finger-nails." Her verbal instruction seemed to vanish in the spirit of her real activity, in which it always had its source. The result of her system was that each child was skilful, intelligent and active to the full extent that its age and development allowed.

The instruction she gave them in the rudiments of arithmetic was intimately connected with the realities of life. She taught them to count the number of steps from one end of the room to the other, and two of the rows of five panes each, in one of the windows, gave her an opportunity to unfold the decimal relation of numbers. She also made them count their threads while spinning, and the number of turns of the reel, when they wound the yarn into skeins. Above all, in every occupation of life she taught them an accurate

and intelligent observation of common objects and the forces of nature.³

This passage illustrates the three essentials of Pestalozzi's contribution to education. First of all, the kindly old pedagogue insisted that the atmosphere of the home should pervade the school. Second, he urged that children be taught spinning, weaving, and other gainful activities at the same time that they were learning to read and count, thus associating industry with education. Third, he advocated a new form of instruction, peculiarly adapted for the impoverished minds of his pupils—the method of sense perception, often called the “object method.”

The first of these suggestions led to a fundamental change in the attitude of teachers toward pupils and to the gradual elimination of corporal punishment in schools everywhere. Pestalozzi's pupil, Emanuel Fellenberg (1771–1844), further developed the idea of industrial education in the famous institution which he established at Hofwyl, Switzerland, and furnished a pattern for agricultural and manual labor schools that was widely followed in other countries. The object method was heralded far and near. Visitors from Germany, England, and America visited Pestalozzi's experimental schools and came away impressed with their possibilities. The Prussian government, at this moment attempting to “arouse the masses from their passive indolence,” enthusiastically adopted Pestalozzi's method of instruction as a means of social reform. Disciples of Pestalozzi elaborated his procedures with certain modifications and carried them forward for another half century.

AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE NEW IDEAS

Contemporary Americans were much interested in Pestalozzi's system of instruction. The geologist, William Maclure, as early 1806 became so enthusiastic that he persuaded Joseph Neef, one of Pestalozzi's assistants, to come to Philadelphia for the purpose of establishing schools embodying the principles. The early educational journals appearing

³ *Pestalozzi's "Leonard and Gertrude."* Translated and edited by Eva Channing, Boston, 1885, pp. 130–131. Reprinted by permission of D. C. Heath and Company, publishers.

from about 1820 on featured articles describing the teachings of the famous educational reformer. William Russell's *American Journal of Education* (1826-1831) contained translations of Pestalozzi's writings and descriptions of Fellenberg's industrial school. Horace Mann's *The Common School Journal* (1838-1848) and Barnard's *American Journal of Education* (1855-1881) from time to time published articles on the subject.

The printed reports of American travelers were widely influential in stimulating interest in the new type of education. John Griscom, a professor of chemistry in New York, prepared an interesting account of his visit (1818-1819) to Pestalozzi's school at Yverdon and to Fellenberg's experiment at Hofwyl. After Pestalozzi's death in 1827 travelers were able to see only the work of his disciples. Prussia, which had reformed its primary schools on the new lines, furnished the best examples and consequently became the goal of many curious educators. Alexander D. Bache of Philadelphia prepared himself for the task of establishing Girard College by making an extensive investigation of European institutions and came away deeply impressed with the Pestalozzian idea. His printed report, *Education in Europe*, appeared in 1839, the same year that Calvin E. Stowe presented his account, *Elementary Education in Europe*, to the legislature of Ohio.

Professor Stowe, less well known to later generations than his wife, Harriet Beecher Stowe, rendered a conspicuous service to American education in his report, which was published not only by the state of Ohio but also by the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Virginia. The following excerpt from the work gives a lucid description of Pestalozzian method, as employed in a Prussian school.

The teacher brings the children around him, and engages them in familiar conversation with himself. He generally addresses them all together, and they all reply simultaneously; but whenever necessary, he addresses an individual, and requires the individual to answer alone. He first directs their attention to the different objects in the schoolroom, their position, form, color, size, materials of which they are made, &c. and requires precise and accurate descriptions. He then requires them to notice the various objects that meet their eye in the way to their respective homes; and a

description of these objects and the circumstances under which they saw them, will form the subject of the next morning's lesson. Then the house in which they live; the shop in which their father works; the garden in which they walk &c., will be the subject of the successive lessons; and in this way for six months or a year, the children are taught to study *things*, to use their own powers of observation, and speak with readiness and accuracy, before books are put into their hands at all. A few specimens will make the nature and utility of this mode of teaching perfectly obvious.⁴

INFANT SCHOOLS

The experiments of Pestalozzi and his followers on the Continent were the magnets which attracted most Americans seeking school reforms. Another experiment in Scotland, however, claimed wide attention. In the year 1815, Robert Owen (1771-1858), a prosperous cotton manufacturer of New Lanark, Scotland, began a philanthropic project that was to claim wide attention both in England and America. Owen was interested in improving the wretched living conditions of his factory workers. He sympathized particularly with the neglected little children whose parents worked long hours in the mills. To provide training for children of such tender years he opened what he called an "infant school." The institution has been best described by the founder's son, Robert Dale Owen. Wrote the younger Owen many years later:

He brought together upwards of a hundred children, from one to six years of age, under two guardians, James Buchanan and Mary Young. No attempt was made to teach them reading or writing, not even their letters; nor had they any set lessons at all. Much of their time was spent in a spacious play ground. They were trained to habits of order and cleanliness; they were taught to abstain from quarrels, to be kind to each other. They were amused with childish games and with stories suited to their capacity. Two large, airy rooms were set apart, one for those under four years and one for those from four to six. This last room was furnished with paint-

⁴ Calvin E. Stowe, "Report on Elementary Instruction in Prussia." Reprinted in Edgar W. Knight, *Reports on European Education*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1930, p. 277.

ings, chiefly of animals, and a few maps. It was also supplied with material objects from the gardens, fields, and woods. These suggested themes for conversation, or brief, familiar lectures; but there was nothing formal, no tasks to be learned, no reading from books. . . .

No corporal punishment, nor threat, nor violent language was permitted on the part of the teachers. They were required to treat the children with the same kindness which they exacted from them toward each other.⁵

This sounds somewhat like a description of a modern kindergarten. Owen's equipment, as the reader has observed, was similar in many respects to that of the later institution. Both types were built on the idea of adapting method to child maturity. Play, pictures, and natural objects were used in each case, but the philosophy of the two schools differed, as will be seen when we come to examine the kindergarten (page 330). Owen was satisfied with cultivating ideals and habits of decent living, whereas the founder of the kindergarten, Froebel, aimed at more profound spiritual changes.

Infant schools on somewhat the same plan as Owen's were opened in England a few years later by Samuel Wilderspin. This English reformer, contrary to Owen's practice, taught children below the age of seven reading, arithmetic, the elements of geography and natural history, and the facts of the New Testament. Wilderspin organized an Infant School Society in 1824 to promote the spread of the institution in England, but despite this effort enthusiasm for infant schools lasted there only a few years.

American cities, however, gave a favorable reception to the idea. At that time there were no public schools teaching beginners to read in such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Children were supposed to learn this elementary art either at home or in a private dame school. Hence when John Griscom and other American travelers brought back descriptions of English infant schools, philanthropic individuals quickly saw a place for such schools in American cities. Before 1830, infant school societies in several of these cities were

⁵ Henry Barnard, *Pestalozzi and His Educational System*, C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, 1881, pp. 383-384.

promoting the idea, and such schools were being organized as "primary" or "junior" departments of the public schools.⁶

Usually the American infant school seems to have followed the plan of Wilderspin rather than that of Owen. The infant schools in this country taught beginners to read, spell, and do simple problems



Primary School in Westerley, Rhode Island, 1850

in arithmetic. This statement is made with reservations, for at least one such school in Baltimore is known to have followed Owen's plan rather faithfully, as Mrs. Trollope observed in the following description in her journal of travels, published in 1832:

It was the first infant school, properly so called, which I had ever seen [kept by Mr. Ibbertson in Baltimore] and I was greatly pleased with all the arrangements, and the apparent success of them. The children, of whom we saw about a hundred, boys and girls, were between eighteen months and six years. The apartment was filled with all sorts of instructive and amusing objects; a set of Dutch toys, arranged as a cabinet of natural history, was excel-

⁶ It is significant that the upper department came to be known hereafter as the "grammar school." This throws an interesting light on the derivation of the terms "primary school" and "grammar school."

lent; a numerous collection of large wooden bricks filled one corner of the room; the walls were hung with gay papers of different patterns, each representing some pretty group of figures; large and excellent coloured engravings of birds and beasts were exhibited in succession as the theme of the lesson; and the sweet flute of Mr. Ibbertson gave tune and time to the prettiest little concert of chirping birds that I ever listened to.⁷

Thus the infant school contributed its bit to modern theory and practice. With its absorption into the American public elementary school its history as an independent institution came to an end.

MANUAL LABOR SCHOOLS

The industrial feature of Pestalozzi's teaching was the earliest to come into vogue in America. Descriptions by John Griscom, William Russell, and other observers of Fellenberg's institution at Hofwyl, published during the third decade of the century, aroused an interest in student labor which within ten years swept from one end of the country to the other. According to the American interpretation of Fellenberg's idea the schools were to operate farms or shops, thus affording an opportunity for students to spend a part of their time in manual labor. Such work was thought to be beneficial for all students; for those young men who were unable to pay their own school or college expenses, it was to furnish the means for self-help; for those who were able to pay, it was to provide healthful exercise. Such was the opinion of enthusiastic advocates of the idea.

Several New England academies introduced the manual labor feature about the same time. The Maine Wesleyan Seminary furnishes perhaps the best illustration of early practice. Founded in 1825, this was a typical academy offering college-preparatory and English courses of the conventional type. The institution operated a farm of 140 acres and a shop for "chair making, cabinet work, turning, sash making and tool making." The majority of the students "worked their way through." No effort was made to relate the labor to academic work, though the reports of the school boasted that the students inci-

⁷ Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, p. 172.

dentally acquired useful information and skill in agriculture or mechanics. The plan seems to have been successful for a year or two, but shortly succumbed to weaknesses common to the system.⁸

An academy that attained some notice at the time was the Oneida Institute of Science and Industry. With accommodations for only sixty, this institution is reported to have turned away five hundred applicants for admission in 1831. Religious denominations, always concerned over the problem of an adequate supply of educated ministers, seized upon the idea as a means of providing instruction at little expense. The Andover Theological Seminary introduced the plan in 1826. Other seminaries at Auburn, New York, Maryville, Tennessee, Danville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio, followed. Bowdoin College and Waterville College (now Colby) in Maine, and Middlebury in Vermont provided workshops for students. Institutions in nearly every state hastened to adopt the plan. The Reverend Elias Cornelius, Secretary of the American Education Society, gave much publicity to the idea which he sponsored in the Society's organ, the *Quarterly Register and Journal*. In New York City in 1831, the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions was formed and Theodore D. Weld of the Oneida Institute was appointed full-time secretary, commissioned to visit schools and to collect and diffuse information. This society's ambitious program, however, lasted only one year.⁹

No educational fad has attained such widespread acceptance in so short a time, and none has been abandoned more quickly. The seeds of failure were present in its inception. It was expected that the heads of the manual labor schools would possess the unusual administrative ability of the founder, Fellenberg—an unwarranted assumption. It was expected that the students would be eager for the opportunity to get healthful exercise or remunerative labor. In practice, this did not prove to be the case. Academic-minded principals failed as businessmen, and students who aspired to be gentlemen and scholars scorned

⁸ Charles A. Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education up to 1870*, The Manual Arts Press, Peoria, Ill., 1926, pp. 184–185.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 188–192. For documentary materials relating to manual labor schools in the Southern states see Edgar W. Knight, *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860: Private and Denominational Efforts*, IV, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1953.

manual labor and put no zest into their work. Almost everywhere the experiments resulted in financial loss to the schools, and by 1860 hardly an institution in the country was employing the plan.

The movement was abortive. At that time there was little respect for manual labor in academic circles. No one attributed intellectual value to field or shop work. These ideas, germane to the success of industrial education, were yet to be realized. The manual labor schools failed, but only a few decades later Samuel C. Armstrong and Booker T. Washington found abundant success in similar institutions for Negroes in the South, and the agricultural and mechanical colleges, authorized by the Morrill Act of 1862, carried forward the manual labor idea under more favorable auspices.

TRANSPLANTATION OF PESTALOZZIAN THEORY

The spread of the district school called for a greater number of teachers than the secondary and higher institutions could supply. Coincident with the demand for more teachers was a demand for teachers conversant with modern methods. Prussia had pointed the way by organizing normal schools to train teachers for their new duties. America was not far behind. Samuel R. Hall, in 1823, offered lectures in the private normal school which he established at Concord, Vermont, that suggest Pestalozzian procedure. Governor DeWitt Clinton, three years later, urged the legislature of New York to establish a state normal school, but instead the governing body subsidized certain academies to supply candidates for the teaching staff. Largely through the agitation of James G. Carter, the Reverend Charles Brooks, and Horace Mann, Massachusetts provided for the establishment of the first State Normal School at Lexington in 1839.

The wave of popular interest in common schools then sweeping the country was responsible for the publication of the first books on pedagogy—or schoolkeeping, as it was then called. The earliest of these books were largely filled with counsel to the young teacher on practical matters such as discipline, methods of teaching, and school management. Little space was devoted to methods of instruction. The authors of such books seem to have caught the spirit of the new education, but their texts give little evidence of knowledge of its technique.

Samuel R. Hall in his *Lectures on Schoolkeeping*, published in 1829, advised student teachers to follow the order of nature in their teaching and to make schoolwork pleasant for pupils by "exhibiting its connection with business and employment."¹⁰ Jacob Abbott in *The Teacher* (1833) set forth a plan for governing a school by moral influence rather than by physical force. Abbott also advised the scheduling of a "general exercise" for informal discussion of current events and matters of practical concern to the pupils. David Page in his *Theory and Practice of Teaching* (1847) endorsed Abbott's suggestion of a free discussion period and illustrated how the time might be profitably spent studying objects. Page added: "A chip, a tooth, or a bone of an animal, a piece of iron, a feather, or any other object, could be made the text for adroitly bringing in the *uses of wood*, the *food and habits of animals* and the *use*, and *comparative value of metals*, the *covering of birds*, their *migration*, the *covering of animals*, etc., etc."¹¹ These books were widely read by teachers of the district schools and appeared as texts in the first normal schools. Teachers were doubtless interested in what the authors had to say about "waking up minds" by informal discussion of real things, but few if any were willing to abandon the traditional classroom procedure. Thus, Pestalozzian method, although favorably discussed during the period, made little headway in school practice.

WARREN COLBURN'S ARITHMETIC

Only in the case of arithmetic was the new technique employed in American schools before the Civil War. In 1821, Warren Colburn, a Harvard graduate, applied the Swiss reformer's principles in his *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi*, a book which was to raise the prestige of arithmetic to the high level of grammar and spelling in the common schools of that day. For forty years this book was regarded as one of the best arithmetics to be had and ranked next to Webster's blueback speller in popularity.

Colburn's *First Lessons* was designed for beginners, four or five

¹⁰ Pp. 76, 81 f., 120.

¹¹ New edition by William H. Payne, 1885, p. 131.

years of age. The author instructed the teacher to use beans, nuts, and other "sensible objects" at first to acquaint the child with numbers and number relationships. After the pupil had solved about a thousand problems mentally or with the aid of objects, Colburn advised that he then be taught the use of figures. By this method children acquired astonishing skill in making mental calculations without writing down the figures. With the success of the procedure, Colburn's reputation was assured and Pestalozzianism gained a foothold in America.

THE OSWEGO MOVEMENT

Although the theory of Pestalozzi was widely prevalent in America throughout the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the technique of object teaching except in arithmetic was not generally propagated before 1860. About this time Edward A. Sheldon (1823-1897), superintendent of schools in Oswego, New York, became interested in the new type of instruction as offered in a school conducted by the Home and Colonial School Society at Toronto. Sheldon had his teachers at Oswego experiment with the method. Enthusiastic over the successful results of the trials, he established a teachers' training school and sent to England for an instructor familiar with the practices then being popularized in that country by Dr. Charles Mayo. Miss Margaret E. M. Jones came over in response to Sheldon's request and began demonstrations in classroom procedure that soon attracted wide attention. Other normal schools in New York, New Jersey, and Michigan learned of the new method from Sheldon's training school. Syracuse, Chicago, Toledo, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and numerous smaller places took steps toward introducing it. Soon the little town in New York state became a center from which emanated the latest developments in Pestalozzian procedure, and teachers flocked to Oswego from many states to inform themselves concerning this newest teaching "fad." The enthusiastic quest became known as the Oswego movement.

The disciples of Pestalozzi had by this time formulated typical lessons to be used in normal schools or to be passed about among teachers. An example of object teaching will give a better idea of the procedure than a general description can convey. A committee of the Oswego Board of Education examined the work of Sheldon's teachers in

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1862 and reported favorably upon their findings. In the published report of the Committee are to be found a number of sample lessons, of which the following is one:

Lesson on Shells

Given to a C class, primary; ages of children 5 to 6 years.

Object of the lesson was to lead the children to observe the parts of the shell, also to perceive the appropriateness of the names given to the parts.

The teacher, holding up a shell before the class, told them that an animal once lived in that shell, and then asked, "What do you live in?"

Children. Houses.

T. This was the house of an animal. Now I want you to look at it, and see if you can find different parts of this shell. James may point to some part of it.

The boy touched the small point at one end. The teacher said this part is called the *apex* of the shell. Now point to the apex of this cone; of the pyramid. The word *apex* was now printed on the blackboard.

Mary may touch some other part of the shell. She put her finger upon the largest part, or body of it; and the teacher said, this is called the *body* of the shell, and printed the word on the board.

Pointing to the whorl on the shell, the teacher said, "Look at this; see how it winds around the shell; this part looks as if it whirled around, so we call it the *whorl*." This word was also printed on the board.

The opening of the shell was pointed at, and the children asked to give it a name. No one replied, and the teacher requested a boy to open his mouth, and the other children to look at it, upon which several of them suggested the word *mouth* as a good name for the opening of the shell. This was printed on the board, and the children told that it is the name for that part of the shell.

Next the edges of the shell were pointed at, and the children referred to parts of their own mouths for a name. *Lips* was readily given, and printed on the board.

The groove leading to the mouth was pointed at, and the children were told to call it a *canal*. The word was then printed.

The attention of the children was directed to the lower part

of the shell, containing the canal, and the children asked if they had ever seen any part of a bird that resembled it in shape. "The bird's beak?" was the reply. "That is right; and we will call this the beak of the shell," said the teacher. This word was also printed on the board.

A child was now called to take the shell and point out the parts as the children named them. The teacher pointed out the parts, and the children named them.¹²

AN APPRAISAL OF PESTALOZZIAN METHOD

In the hands of later teachers the object method was reduced to a formal procedure lacking in spirit and purpose. It became a merciless process of making observations and listing facts. Teachers went through the motions of instruction without educating their charges. Mistaking the means for the end, they perverted the example of their revered Pestalozzi. Before the death of Sheldon in 1897 object teaching was being run into the ground, and teachers were looking elsewhere for a more energizing principle. Formal organization for widespread distribution killed the object method.

The residue of Pestalozzian method brought over into the twentieth century is significant. Among the gains that may definitely be attributed to it are the following: (1) it introduced concrete materials into the primary and intermediate grades; (2) it also brought into the curriculums elementary science, home geography, and nature study; (3) it attached a new importance to oral expression on the part of pupils; (4) it required teachers to be independent of books; and (5) it called for a special technique of teaching that made the professional training of teachers a practical necessity.

RÉSUMÉ

Before the publication of Rousseau's *Emile* teachers generally did not recognize the difference between the mental processes of a child and those of an adult. Rousseau set forth the theory that the child's

¹² Henry Barnard, *Pestalozzi and His Educational System*. School Bulletin Publications, C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, 1874, p. 419.

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mind develops just as a living organism grows to maturity. He urged that education be adjusted to the child's natural interests and abilities, and that the materials of instruction be drawn at first from the "Book of Nature."

Pestalozzi, being interested in education as a means of social reform, accepted Rousseau's point of view. Through his kindly ministrations and with the aid of objects and industries, children were led to comprehend the simple elements of their environment and at the same time to develop ideals of honor and decency. Pestalozzi perfected a method of instruction, known as the object method, which he successfully used in teaching little children—even those with meager cultural background.

Pestalozzi's method was copied by social reformers in England and Prussia. It spread to America, where democracy called for a type of education that would prove of advantage to the underprivileged masses. The missionary work for the Pestalozzian procedure was completed prior to the Civil War. Shortly afterward normal schools were training teachers in the use of the procedure and the method was being generally used in primary instruction. Although at present unrecognized as such, remnants of Pestalozzian practice may still be observed in elementary school activities.

Through other channels came the present-day concept of industrial education, and the imported infant school made an independent contribution to primary education in this country.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Contrast the points of view before and after Rousseau with reference to:
(a) the teacher's attitude toward the child; (b) the choice of subject matter; (c) adjusting instruction to the child's mental level; (d) child psychology; (e) industrial education.
2. Make a further study of Pestalozzi's contribution to education, including:
(a) his idea of child psychology; (b) the object method; (c) his theory of industrial education; (d) weaknesses of object teaching.
3. Compare object teaching with the project method and with the socialized recitation.
4. To what extent were Pestalozzian practices prevalent in the United States before the Civil War?
5. Compare the innovations suggested by Hall, Abbott, and Page (p. 232) with methods suggested by present-day progressive teachers.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

A Curriculum for Culture and Useful Information

TWO CONCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION

What did education mean to the people of the early national period? The answer is twofold. To those who aspired to it in the upper reaches of academic scholarship, it meant the attainment of culture; to the many who hoped only for materialistic advancement, it meant the acquisition of practical knowledge. This is not to say that education was conceived in no other terms. Moral character, civic loyalty, and, to some extent, mental discipline, were bound up with the idea in the minds of most people who gave any thought to the matter, but culture and practical utility were the criteria by which it was measured.

In Chapters Three and Four we have noted the emergence of these two conceptions. In our present study we shall see them clearly illumined in the thought of the new nation. For the achievement of these aims in the higher schools two curriculums were necessary, the classical and the "English" or modern; in the lower schools, the latter was all that was needed. To some extent the prevailing caste system was reflected in the offerings of the two curriculums. The colleges clung tenaciously to the traditional classics, while the academies offered a choice of the two courses. We shall presently see how, on the one hand, the classical tradition persisted and how, on the other, the new studies were gradually adapted to the purposes of formal instruction.

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

By 1750, the direct utility of classical learning had passed away. Authors no longer embalmed their ideas in the "language of all time." The professions, including the medical, legal, and theological, of course, required it for terminology and occasionally for exegesis, but nowhere else was such knowledge demanded. The leaders of the romantic movement now openly advanced the claims of the modern languages for culture as well as practical utility, and some joined Franklin and Benjamin Rush¹ in advocating the abandonment of classical study.

Despite the ferment of unrest which unsettled the academic programs of the Revolutionary and early national periods, the classical tradition continued. Practical utility had ceased to be a motive, but erudition had by no means lost its prestige. The shining ornament of the gentleman and scholar was still the knowledge of ancient authors. How well the builders of the new republic had steeped themselves in the lore of the past ages we may gather by scanning their orations, official documents, and controversial papers. These writings, couched in fervid and all too florid phrases, show the indelible imprint of Cicero and the rhetoricians. If the style smacked of pedantry, it at least bore the stamp of conventional learning and enhanced the user's prestige among men of all classes.

Such phrases as, *e pluribus unum*, *multum in parvo*, *ne plus ultra*, and *vox populi vox dei* were current expressions. Graceful English diction, hallmarked by the best British writers of the classical school, was as much in demand as apt Latin quotations. The gilded gloss of ancient learning adorned conversation in the elite social circles of the East and lent distinction to formal gatherings in the drawing rooms of the South. It was the stock in trade of orators and stump speakers who impressed their hearers with rounded periods and high-sounding Latin phrases, more sonorous than timely. It gave an air of pretentiousness to the imposing figure in top hat, black neckpiece, and pantaloons strapped under the instep, who occasionally penetrated the West as far as the Mississippi.

¹ Benjamin Rush, *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*, 2d ed., Essay III, Philadelphia, 1806.

Sentimental young poets turned their fancy into English odes, satires, or epistles after the fashion of Horace or Juvenal. Parents passed the tradition on to their children in christening them Marcus Tullius, Marcellus, Horace, and Virgil, or Chloe, Minerva, and Penelope. Whoever aspired to stand out among his fellows strove to give evidence of his scholarship as well as of his gentility.

THE CLASSICS IN THE SCHOOLS

The best instruction in the classics provided by the secondary schools of the period was probably furnished in the Boston Latin School. The following program of studies for 1789 represents this school's attainment 154 years after its establishment:

1st Class—Cheever's *Accidence*. Corderius's *Colloquies*—Latin and English. *Nomenclator*, *Æsop's Fables*—Latin and English. Ward's *Latin Grammar*, or *Eutropius*.

2nd Class—Clarke's *Introduction*—Latin and English. Ward's *Latin Grammar*. *Eutropius*, continued. *Selectae e Veteri Testamento Historiae*, or Castalio's *Dialogues*. The making of Latin, from Garretson's *Exercises*.

3rd Class—Caesar's *Commentaries*. Tully's *Epistles*, or *Offices*. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Virgil. Greek Grammar. The making of Latin from King's *History of the Heathen Gods*.

4th Class—Virgil, continued. Tully's *Orations*. Greek Testament—Horace, Homer—*Gradus ad Parnassum*. The making of Latin continued.²

As the reader may observe from the foregoing outline, the full time of the school was devoted to the study of the classics, comprising four years of Latin and two of Greek. The achievement of the school, however, can hardly be estimated either in units of time or in the items of subject matter listed in the outline. By whatever standard it may be

² Pauline Holmes, *A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 266–267.

measured, the instruction in this and the better Latin schools was without doubt much more comprehensive and far more thorough than the classical course offered in the high schools of our day.

Throughout the colonial period and well on into the nineteenth century, entrance requirements in all colleges called for little else besides a knowledge of the classics. William Cullen Bryant, the poet, in preparing himself for Williams College in 1809, mastered first a Latin grammar and the *Colloquies* of Corderius. He passed next to Vergil's *Aeneid*, which he learned to parse and read at sight, and then to Cicero's *Orations*. The following year he devoted almost exclusively to Greek, in which he achieved a reading knowledge of the New Testament.³

Latin was not mentioned in the curriculum of the English Classical School of Boston in 1821, but in the Girls' High School, established five years later, it was included in the list of electives for the second and third years. The Massachusetts law of 1827, which provided for the establishment of high schools, required towns of four thousand inhabitants or over to employ a master able to give instruction in Latin and Greek. The prestige of Latin, however, led a number of towns of smaller population to offer the subject in their high schools, although they were not required by law to do so. The high schools of this state gradually assumed the college-preparatory function and by 1860 Latin was offered in most of them.

IMPROVEMENT OF METHODS OF TEACHING LATIN

During the period there was some improvement in methods of teaching Latin. Allen Fisk's criticism of Adam's *Latin Grammar* indicates the trend toward simplification. Wrote Fisk in the preface of his revision of the older text:

But as an elementary school-book, the Grammar of Dr. Adam has one fault; a fault, however, by no means peculiar, but common, it is

³ Tremaine McDowell, "Cullen Bryant Prepares for College," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXX (April, 1931), 125-133. Bryant applied for sophomore standing, having completed a much more ample preparation than that outlined here.

believed, to all Latin Grammars hitherto published. . . . The student is obliged to commit his whole book to memory, or at least the principal parts, Etymology and Syntax, before he understands a word of it . . . nor are the difficulties of the student at an end when he has got through his Grammar. To prove his skill and try the fidelity of his memory, he is then set to parsing in promiscuous exercises, in long and intricate sentences, to resolve which requires a knowledge of the Grammar and of the idioms of the language to be acquired only by practical illustration and patient research. However apt, therefore, he may have been in conning by rote, when the learner comes to apply the rules and definitions promiscuously he finds himself in a labyrinth; his judgment is bewildered; his memory in many instances fails him; and thus he is often compelled to begin with his Grammar anew.⁴

Judging from this excerpt, Adam's method of teaching was unbelievably difficult. Fisk's plan was to provide easy exercises whereby the student might be able to understand what he was attempting to commit to memory. His is one of a series of efforts to provide a satisfactory beginner's book.

The making of Latin prose composition, as it was generally called, continued to receive attention in the schools, although verse making was now being abandoned. In this exercise there was also an effort at improvement. New rules, explanatory notes, and vocabularies appeared in the texts. Masters and texts were willing now to compromise with the tardy or recalcitrant student rather than brand him as a blockhead incapable of instruction.

GREEK NOT FREQUENTLY STUDIED

The history of Greek in the early secondary schools is very much the same as that of Latin except that Greek never attained the prominence which Latin enjoyed. Latin and Greek formed the curriculum of the Latin Grammar schools and later held an important position in the classical departments of the early academies. Although the subject

⁴ Allen Fisk, *Adam's Latin Grammar*, 5th ed., N. and J. White, New York, 1833, p. iii.

was found in the curriculums of the public high schools, it is doubtful whether it ever attained the prominence which has been attributed to it. According to Inglis, not more than 5 per cent of the total enrollment ever studied Greek. The study was usually not begun until the student had had a year or more of Latin. After the beginner's book and reader, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Homer's *Iliad* were read. In some schools, a section of the Greek Testament was included. French gradually replaced Greek, particularly in the high schools, where the modern language seemed to be more suitable.

THE RISE OF FORMAL ENGLISH GRAMMAR

As the nineteenth century advanced English grammar became immensely popular. The scope of the subject is suggested in Lindley Murray's *English Grammar Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners*. The ninth edition of this book, published in 1818, treats the subject under the traditional headings, orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody. For the benefit of advanced pupils, who had acquired a "competent knowledge of English grammar," there was included an appendix containing "Rules and Observations" to enable them to "write with Perspicuity and Accuracy." Included also, but unrelated either to the grammar proper or to the appended rules for composition, was a sixteen-page treatment of punctuation. Practical considerations obviously advised the incorporation in the text of these extraneous materials. Their inclusion was prophetic of the type of grammar later to evolve, in which composition would play the leading role.

A pedagogical presentation is not by any means a recent innovation. Early authors, in their own way, and more or less successfully, made an effort to descend to the child's mental level. Murray's graded texts indicate that he had this in mind. William Cobbet (1818) presented the subject in twenty-three letters, addressed to his son, James, but Cobbet's thin disguise of personal intimacy scarcely concealed the stark outlines of formal grammar. Other authors attempted the same sort of thing, but prior to 1825, memory of rules, parsing, and the correction of false syntax dominated the study. During the second quarter of the century the inductive procedure was introduced and the memory method began to give way to construction and analysis.

RHETORIC AND COMPOSITION

The widespread demand for training in public speaking furnished an incentive to the teaching of rhetoric. The academies featured the study and when the high schools came to be organized, rhetoric held a prominent place in their programs. Blair's *Lectures* (abridged) is found in the first outline of the Boston English Classical School (1823) and continued to hold an honored place there until 1852. G. P. Quackenbos deviated from the old models when, in 1854, he presented, in his *Composition and Rhetoric*, chapters on the history of the language, letter writing, and practical exercises in punctuation and capitalization. In this, as in many of the later texts, may be observed the breakdown of the formal organization. It is clear that the rhetoric of earlier times was sublimating—to use a chemical term—into composition. Parker's *Aids to Composition* provided practice materials for drill in capitalization, punctuation, sentence building, and letter writing. Texts of the period just preceding the Civil War approached the problem of language training either from the point of view of grammar or from that of rhetoric. After the Civil War, the combination text, rhetoric-composition, was to emphasize increasingly the elementary exercises. Moreover, abstract grammar was soon to compromise with the informal language lessons of the Pestalozzian elementary school. The merging of these two currents, diverging respectively from rhetoric, on the one side, and from grammar, on the other, is responsible for the modern high school course in composition.

EARLY READERS

During the first half of the nineteenth century, as the English intermediate (or grammar) school gradually emerged as a sort of second story to the primary school, prominent among the studies which found a place in this upper-grade program was a combined course in reading and declamation shaped after Part III of Webster's *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (page 115). Caleb Bingham followed Webster's model with the *American Preceptor* in 1794 and the *Columbian Orator* in 1797. The first of these became immensely popular,

640,000 copies being sold by 1832. Lindley Murray seems to have been the first to conceive the idea of a graded series of readers, featuring selections from Addison, Pope, Gray, Milton, and other great English authors. Readers for the fifth and sixth years, compiled by later textbook writers, carried forward through the remainder of the century the conception of Webster, Bingham, and Murray. The triumph of McGuffey's readers, after 1835, is elsewhere described. (See pp. 503-505.) The McGuffey series came to be the best loved textbooks of the nineteenth century. For seventy-five years they were used in public schools in almost every section of the United States.

LITERATURE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The teaching of literature on the secondary level owes much to the beginning made in the old-fashioned readers. While the selections contained in them were, in many cases, brief fragments of lengthy masterpieces, they furnished a desirable foretaste of good literature and they laid the foundation for the course in literature which was shortly to become for many American students a cultural substitute for the ancient classics.

The Boston English Classical School in 1823 offered a course called "Criticism on English Authors," and the Philadelphia High School in 1840 provided a similar course under the title of "English Belles-Lettres and History" in which the literature seems to have been the lesser item.⁵ These innovations represent the efforts of English schoolmasters in their gropings for a proper method of instruction. Soon there developed a decided preference for the biographies of authors instead of selections from literature and, in the course of a few years, the lives of American as well as English authors were being studied. It was past the middle of the century when William Spaulding presented in his *History of English Literature with an Outline of the Origin and Growth of English Literature* (1868) a textbook of the type now current in which the lives of the writers are subordinated to the periods of historical development.

⁵ John E. Stout, *Development of the High School Curriculum in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921, p. 11.

THE ERA OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The civic responsibility of the school was first recognized in America by the action of the General Court of Massachusetts in passing the famous Law of 1642 which urged local officers to see that children were taught to "read and understand the principles of religion and the Capitall laws of this Country." This early step, though significant, can hardly be said to mark the beginning of the teaching of civics in our schools. Not until the national period was well under way do we find the true beginnings. Jacksonian democracy was awaking the common man to the realization of his political importance when the schools, following the tenor of the times, began feebly to comprehend their duties under the republican form of government. In the decade between 1825 and 1835, we find New York school superintendents recommending that children be instructed in the "rights, privileges, and duties of a citizen."⁶ About the same time teaching instruments were devised. Arthur J. Stansbury in 1826 published his *Elementary Catechism on the Constitution of the United States*; Isaac Jones published in 1828 his *Constitution of Massachusetts and the United States*, and Joseph Story his *Constitutional Class-book* (1834).⁷ Thus, the early textbook writers attacked the many-sided problem of preparation for citizenship from the angle of knowledge of the Constitution. The schools tardily moved to introduce the study.

Before the Civil War there were texts in the "science of government," "political philosophy," "political economy," "city government," and related subjects, representing random gropings for more effective methods of teaching citizenship. Civil government, which soon appeared, was little more than an elaboration of the study of the Constitution. It was abstract, formal, and uninspiring. Imparting only information with respect to the machinery of government, it did little to impel

⁶ Elsie G. Hobson, *Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York from 1777 to 1850*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1918, pp. 77-78.

⁷ William F. Russell, "History Textbooks Published before 1861," *History Teachers' Magazine*, Vol. V, pp. 122-125. Elhanan Winchester published a political catechism as early as 1797. See *Twenty-second Yearbook of National Society for Study of Education*, Part II, p. 52.

pupils to civic righteousness or social service. From the first the study was closely associated with that of United States history.

PROGRESS IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

The motives that led to the introduction of history into the secondary school programs were mixed. William F. Russell presents evidence to show that instruction in the early part of the nineteenth century was designed for moral and religious training, for the occupation of leisure time, for the promotion of patriotism and good citizenship, and for general mind training.⁸ These motives, he claims, were present from the start in one form of instruction or another and did not appear serially through the century. He finds the same motives in twentieth-century history courses.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, there seemed to be little agreement as to the forms in which history should be presented. The courses had not yet become definitely standardized. The schools offered "universal" (general), ancient, medieval, or modern history, "Biblical antiquities," history of England, France, or the United States, and sometimes state history—the offering, in each case, depending on local preference. Although diversity long continued to characterize the history courses, by the middle of the century we find two courses becoming increasingly prevalent—general history and United States history.

GENERAL HISTORY

The course in general history which came into prominence at this time was to hold its place in the curriculum until the end of the century. In the typical text usually about half the space was devoted to ancient history. Some attention was given to the history of Asiatic peoples, but this was usually slight. Europe in medieval and modern times occupied the remainder of the text. All texts of this class, including those of Emma Willard and Samuel G. Goodrich, emphasized political and military affairs.

⁸ "The Early Teaching of History in Secondary Schools," *The History Teachers' Magazine*, V, 203-208.

AMERICAN HISTORY

With the opening of the nineteenth century, the rising tide of nationalism gave a new impulse to the teaching of American history. Before 1818, four new textbooks had appeared and academies such as the Phillips Academy at Exeter were introducing the subject. The Boston English Classical (high) School, when organized in 1821, offered in the second year, "History particularly that of the United States." When the state high school law of Massachusetts in 1827 ordered every city, town, or district with five hundred families to establish a high school in which the history of the United States, among other subjects, should be taught, the subject was attaining a definite place in the secondary school programs. By this time, 35 per cent of the pupils in the academies of New York state were attending schools where the subject was being taught.⁹ Other states were not slow to follow the leadership of Massachusetts and New York.

The increase in popularity of the history of this country may be estimated by the number of new texts that came from the printing presses. Before 1801 there had been published only two United States histories; by 1861, there had appeared 107, which eventually ran through 267 editions in all.¹⁰ The most popular of these was that of Charles A. Goodrich. First published in 1822, it went through thirty-five editions in eleven years. The book is somewhat ponderous in form, style, and text for younger pupils, but it filled a need no better supplied in its day. *The First Book of History* (1831), prepared by "Peter Parley" (Samuel G. Goodrich), for children between the ages of nine and sixteen, placed the subject on the plane of the common school. The second and third books of Peter Parley's series treated of ancient and European history. This order of sequence, with the United States history first, doubtless tended to fix more definitely the place of the history of our own country in the elementary school curriculum, and to elevate ancient and later European history into the secondary curriculum.

⁹ Russell, *op. cit.*, V, 315.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

Through the mid-century, the study of American history advanced on three levels, the elementary, the secondary, and the higher. Vermont

THE
FIRST BOOK OF HISTORY,
COMBINED WITH GEOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF MAINE.

1. THE state of Maine is about as extensive as all the rest of New England, but a great part of it is still covered with forests. You will observe on the map, that nearly all the towns and villages lie in the southern portion, towards the seaboard. As you go from the sea to the interior, the soil grows better; some of the most fertile parts of the state are yet almost a wilderness.

2. There are a great many lakes in this state, which abound in fish. There are a multitude of streams and rivers; these afford many excellent mill-seats.

Questions on the Map of Maine.—How is Maine bounded on the North? East? South? West? Describe the Penobscot river; that is, tell in what county it rises, in what direction it runs, through what counties it flows, and into what sea it enters. Describe the Kennebec in the same way. The Androscoggin, Saco, St. Croix.

Describe Moosehead Lake; that is, tell what county it is in, and which way it lies from Augusta, the capital of the state. Describe Grand Lake, Schoodic, Sebago, Temiscouata.

Describe the following bays; that is, tell in which direction they are from Augusta, the capital, and what sea or ocean they are formed by: Penobscot, Casco, Frenchman's.

Describe the following islands, by telling in what waters they lie, and their direction from the

There are a great many bays, rivulets, and islands along the shore. The beautiful salmon, with its silvery scales, and its pink flesh that tastes so well, is taken in Maine, with nets, in weirs, and while it is leaping the falls. By means of its strong tail and fins, it will shoot up a fall of ten or twelve feet in height, on its way to the fresh water, in the spring, to lay its eggs or spawn.

3. If you were to go to Maine in the summer, you would see many things to delight you. The little green islands scattered along the coast are very beautiful; some of them have very handsome houses upon them. You would find the

capital: Grand Menan Island, Mt. Desert, Deer, Fox, Boon.

How many counties in Maine? Their names? Capital of Maine? In what county is Augusta? Describe the following towns, by telling what county each is in, and its direction from the capital: Portland, Wiscasset, Cornish, Bangor, Norridgewock, Castine, Paris, York, Machias, Bath. What is the number of inhabitants in Maine? Number of square miles? Greatest length of Maine? Greatest width, and average length? Average width?

Questions on Chapter I.—1. How extensive is Maine? Which part of this state is most settled? 2. What of lakes in Maine? Other waters? What objects along the shore? What of the salmon? 3. If you were to go to Maine in summer, what would you see along the coast? What of the Ken-

Page from First Book of History for Children and Youth by Peter Parley, 1849

in 1827 placed the subject on the list of studies required by law to be taught in the public schools. Massachusetts, which the same year had prescribed it for the high schools of the state, required it by law of all

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elementary schools in 1857. Before 1850 many cities also had introduced the subject into their elementary school courses.

On the secondary and higher levels there was also an advance. Although the subject was long in reaching the place of prominence it was ultimately to attain, the leading universities of the North and East, including Yale, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Harvard, Wisconsin, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, and Michigan were by 1887 offering such instruction. The status of the study outside the institutions named could not have been high.

Due to the ambition of the colleges to project their teaching of American history upon a higher plane, we find a growing tendency to require the subject for entrance, but it was not until nearly the close of the century that this subject acquired the recognition in the entrance examinations earlier accorded general and ancient history.

MODERN LANGUAGES FOR CULTURE AND COMMERCE

Contact with the French during the Revolutionary era stimulated the teaching of this language in American schools for cultural as well as commercial purposes. Franklin and Jefferson were early advocates of the study. The former was instrumental in having an instructor of French and German appointed in the Philadelphia Academy in 1754. In 1799 Jefferson was instrumental in the establishment of a professorship in modern languages at William and Mary College. The subject was made optional with Hebrew at Harvard in 1782, and Williams College, William and Mary, and the University of North Carolina were requiring it for entrance before the end of the century. In comparison with the classics, however, the modern languages enjoyed little prestige, and, after a few years, interest in them declined almost to the vanishing point. The teachers were usually incompetent; the classical teachers complained of the inadequacy of such teaching for linguistic purposes; and religious authorities objected to the philosophy of Voltaire and Rousseau then being propagated.

The liberal trend of the early academies brought in French at an early date. The Wilmington Academy in Delaware made the following announcement in 1786: "The French language will be taught by one of the professors of the Academy if parents or guardians require it." New

York academies were offering it, according to the Regents' report of 1787, but the study did not become at all general until after 1845. It was taught in the Transylvania Seminary in Kentucky from its foundation in 1785, in academies in the Carolinas as early as 1803, and in the College of the City of New Orleans in 1812. In seminaries for girls almost everywhere French was listed as one of the accomplishments for young ladies.

Dating from about 1830, interest in science and the Prussian theories of education stimulated the teaching of German. That subject appeared in the program of New York academies in 1825, where it attained a secure position by the middle of the century. Academies occasionally offered Spanish also, but this language made little headway before the opening of the twentieth century.

THE ADVANCE OF ARITHMETIC

It is generally conceded that the principal aim of instruction in arithmetic in these early days was to meet the practical needs of trade and commerce. The immediate end desired by the teachers, however, was a knowledge of the rules and their application. The solution of problems was given in writing rather than orally and for this reason arithmetic was often spoken of as "ciphering." In the early part of this period, since there were few textbooks, sums were "set" by the teachers from their own ciphering books. The pupils were required to solve these problems according to the given rule. If a pupil's work were identical with that of the teacher it was approved and copied into the pupil's ciphering book. If it were not, the pupil was required to do it all over again even though his work might be correct. In the secondary schools something of the science of arithmetic was given in addition to the work in ciphering. The use of slates, toward the end of the colonial period, and of blackboards, somewhat later, doubtless facilitated the work of the teacher.

Although by 1820 there were at least sixty different arithmetics being printed in this country, counting both American and foreign publications, the supply of texts was inadequate. Because pupils in the same class often brought different texts to school, in many instances the methods used were practically the same as those used before texts

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were placed in the hands of pupils. The master, however, no longer "set" the sums nor gave the rule, since both were contained in the text. Each pupil, with whatever book he had, solved the problems as they came and when he reached a problem he was unable to work, took it to the master. Because many of the teachers were poorly trained, a difficult problem might prove almost as perplexing to the teacher as to the pupils. The memoriter method was emphasized in the texts and by the teachers. The year 1821, however, marks the beginning of a radical change, for on this date Warren Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi* was published. This text, as its name implies, was for the use of children five or six years of age. (See p. 232.) A more advanced book for older pupils was published in 1822.

After about 1820 the development of arithmetic was rapid. New texts were published, some in series of three or four, with one of the number frequently devoted to mental arithmetic. Three books of the series were usually used in the elementary school with the more advanced text designed for the secondary school. Many authors followed Colburn in the use of the inductive method, although the general plan of organization used in the texts continued to be deductive.

From the time of the publication of Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic* until the end of the nineteenth century the disciplinary function of arithmetic acquired increasing prestige. This is shown by the texts of that period. Greenleaf in his *National Arithmetic* (1864) wrote: "In preparing this as well as the former editions of his *National Arithmetic*, the author has regarded the end to be sought in the study of Arithmetic as twofold—a practical knowledge of numbers and the discipline of the mind." By the middle of the century arithmetic and English grammar had become the chief studies in the elementary school programs.

ALGEBRA COMES INTO PROMINENCE

The teaching of algebra seems to have made little headway before the opening of the nineteenth century. Academies were by this time requiring it and, in the second decade, the Boston Latin School included it in its course. The high school movement gave an added impetus to the study. The Boston English Classical School offered it

in 1821, and within twenty years over a hundred schools in Massachusetts, most of which were elementary, were teaching it. Horace Mann, in 1842, estimated that there were in Massachusetts approximately 2,333 pupils engaged in the study. If progress was equally rapid in schools elsewhere we may conclude that algebra by this time was assuming a place of importance next to Latin in upper-grade programs.

Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, arithmetic and geometry were the only mathematical subjects offered at Harvard. These were given in the senior year. Cajori states that there is no direct evidence to indicate that algebra was introduced into the college curriculum before 1786. It was required for entrance at Harvard in 1820 and by Yale in 1847.

One of the best-known texts was *The Young Mathematician's Guide* by John Ward. One hundred and thirty-four pages of this text contained rules and solutions of algebraic problems following one another in a somewhat tedious fashion with no exercises provided for drill. The first textbook to be used in American institutions that was devoted exclusively to algebra seems to have been *The Elements of Algebra* by Nathaniel Hammond. This was, moreover, one of the best algebras of its day. Most of the book was given over to the solution of problems stated in detail. Containing very few rules but much illustrative material, this text, like Ward's, was used by teachers but seldom, if ever, placed in the hands of the students.

The earlier algebra texts were arranged much like the arithmetics. Definitions came first—sometimes as many as eight or ten pages of them—then the four fundamental operations—addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. Fractions usually came next, followed by simple equations, evolution, involution, radicals, quadratic equations, ratio, proportion, series, and other advanced topics. Algebra texts by Ray, Greenleaf, and Robinson, who had written extensively in the field of arithmetic, were widely used after the middle of the century.

GEOMETRY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOLS

Although geometry, like algebra, had no place in the colonial Latin grammar schools, it was taught in the academies and from an

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early date was offered in the private schools and colleges. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century it appeared in the Boston Public Latin School and in the Boston English Classical School.

The Massachusetts law of 1827 required the teaching of geometry in high schools of all towns containing five hundred or more families. By 1861 sixty-one out of sixty-three towns of that state reported that they were offering geometry as a regular study in their high schools. Geometry was required for entrance by Harvard for the first time in 1844, and by Yale in 1856.

A French geometry widely used in the secondary schools about the middle of the eighteenth century was the *Elements of Geometry* by A. M. Legendre, which was later adapted for use in the United States by Charles Davies and others. The demonstrations in earlier editions were given in essay form. It is plain that no royal road had yet been discovered for the mastery of Euclid's formal treatise.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

The introduction of the natural sciences into the secondary schools came as a result of the increased interest in the bearing of science upon industry during the first half of the nineteenth century. Natural philosophy was placed in the curriculum to meet the demand for information about physical phenomena. That textbooks on this subject met this demand after a fashion is evident from the number of editions they enjoyed. J. L. Comstock's text, for instance, reached its seventy-third edition in 1846. David Brewster in the introduction to James Ferguson's popular text wrote: "No book on the subject has been so generally read and so widely circulated among all ranks of the community. We perceive it in the *workshop of every mechanic*."¹¹ These texts were largely descriptive, being illustrated with drawings of machines, engines, and tools. They gave practical information concerning new machines and the physical appliances in which everyone was interested.

Natural philosophy, like other sciences, was offered during this period largely as an informational subject and should be distinguished from physics as offered later. It was taught at first by the textbook

¹¹ This book was published in England in 1750; American edition, 1806.

method, the book alone being used without demonstrations or experiments. Toward the middle of the century textbooks began to suggest experiments by the teacher, but students were not yet permitted to handle the apparatus. By this time, also, the schools were getting away from the description of common physical appliances and were attempting to give an understanding of such principles of mechanics as hydraulics, hydrostatics, and pneumatics, but it was not until after the Civil War that physics, as the study came to be called, became an important feature of school and college programs.

CHEMISTRY AS A PART OF THE CURRICULUM

Chemistry was taught in Columbia College as early as 1767 and in at least six other colleges before 1800, but up to this time very little progress had been made in the teaching of the subject in either Europe or America. Von Meyer in his *History of Chemistry* states that at the beginning of the nineteenth century "there were practically no laboratories for general instruction in chemistry."¹²

Benjamin Silliman, who became first professor of chemistry at Yale College, described the general attitude toward this subject at Yale at the beginning of the nineteenth century in his "Reminiscences":

During my novitiate, chemistry was scarcely ever mentioned. I well remember when I received my earliest impressions in relation to chemistry. Professor Joseph Meigs 1794 to 1801 delivered lectures on natural philosophy from the pulpit of the college chapel. He was a gentleman of great intelligence and had read Chaptal, Lavoisier and other chemical writers of the French School. From these and perhaps other sources he occasionally introduced chemical facts and principles in common with those of natural philosophy.¹³

Charles W. Eliot, in speaking of his student days at Harvard about 1850, said that no laboratories were open to the students and that he

¹² Ernest von Meyer, *History of Chemistry*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1906, p. 642.

¹³ Benjamin Silliman, "Reminiscences of Benjamin Silliman," *American Journal of Education*, XXVI, 231.

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was the first student who had an opportunity to work in a laboratory at Harvard, a privilege accorded him because of his personal friendship with Professor J. P. Cook, who had fitted up a laboratory in the basement of University Hall at his own expense. Eliot said that chemistry had no higher standing in other colleges.

The practical implications of the subject led the academies and early high schools to introduce it. The Leicester Academy, in Massachusetts, announced it in 1813, and by 1828 eighteen out of fifty academies in New York state were offering it. The lecture-demonstration method was generally advocated. The Warrenton Female Academy in 1820 announced that "extensive apparatus for Natural Philosophy and Chemistry were constantly used in teaching those branches which require their aid, affording facilities not possessed by any other Female Seminary in the United States."¹⁴ Chemistry got an early start in the female academies, where the vacuum caused by the lack of Latin needed to be filled by subjects not in the traditional boys' school curriculum.

It is probable that the pupils made very little, if any, use of the scanty laboratory equipment employed by the teachers in illustrating their lectures. Amos Eaton in his *Chemical Instructor* (1822) favored the handling of the apparatus by the pupils in order to give them a better understanding of the experiments performed by the teacher, but laboratory equipment was scarce and very difficult to obtain. Eaton gave directions for making some of the apparatus and suggested borrowing pieces from a druggist. All of the larger pieces of equipment were obtained from England.

There was a tendency to deal with the chemistry of common things. Much attention was given to description, explanations, and definitions; and the experiments were simple. The shift of emphasis from "common things" to a formal, technical treatment came earlier in chemistry than it did in physics. The drift toward formal organization and emphasis of theory rather than application was evident long before the end of the century.

¹⁴ Quoted by S. R. Powers in *The History of the Teaching of Chemistry in the Secondary Schools of the U.S. Previous to 1850*, Research Publication No. 13, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1920, pp. 16-17.

GEOGRAPHY IN THE CURRICULUM

Geography, which was taught in the early academies, found a place in the first high schools. It was not exclusively a secondary subject, being taught in elementary as well as in high schools. Most secondary schools taught it, however, in the first year. The general study of geography included physical geography, which was not taught as a separate study until after about 1850.

The early geographies were largely descriptive and a great deal of emphasis was given to the locational phase of the subject. Pupils were given drills in locating numerous towns, mountains, bays, gulfs, and so on. Ewing's text (1820), for instance, began with a study of the solar system, proceeding next to a study of the different continents, and then to the political divisions of each. The last few pages of this book were given over to problems to be solved by the use of terrestrial and celestial globes.

Samuel G. Goodrich's text, published in 1835, contained numerous engravings but no maps. It was accompanied, however, with an atlas which the pupils were expected to use. Contrary to the earlier practice of beginning the study with a description of the solar system, Goodrich began, after the fashion of Pestalozzi, with the child's local environment and proceeded later to the world beyond. All the texts of the period were much smaller than those used later. A catechetical treatment, with hundreds of *what* and *where* questions, was the usual procedure. It was not until after about 1875 that *why* questions came to be used.

BOTANY

The biological sciences appeared in the secondary curriculum more than a century ago. It is difficult to determine the exact date at which each of these appeared, but botany seems to have been the first. It was thought to be especially desirable for girls, inasmuch as it provided "healthful exercise" and was more "elegant" than zoology. The *American Journal of Education* in 1829 set forth the motives for teaching the subject as follows:

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1. It furnishes one of the most interesting and delightful occupations for the youthful mind.
2. It gives interest and utility to our journeys and walks.
3. Botany deserves attention as affording a pleasant and healthful exercise.
4. It teaches habits of attentive and accurate observation.
5. Botany is useful in teaching habits of order and arrangement.
6. Botany has several important practical uses. To the chemist it affords new and abundant materials for dyes and for various compounds. To the physician it is nearly indispensable since it makes him intimately acquainted with the external characters and medicinal properties of those plants reputed to possess healing powers.
7. It promotes the moral improvement of the young.¹⁵

Teachers seem to have been chiefly interested in having pupils collect and classify plants, tear them to pieces, and memorize the terminology of the subject. In the female academies the textbook by Mrs. Lincoln Phelps was widely used.

Natural history, which in earlier days included botany as well as zoology, came in slowly and under that title remained only a short while in the schools. After the middle of the century the data of the subject were presented either as zoology or biology.

PHYSIOLOGY

There were sporadic attempts at the teaching of anatomy in secondary schools before 1840. These, however, gave way shortly to the teaching of physiology which embraced very much the same data. By 1845, Horace Mann was able to speak of the progress of the subject in Massachusetts schools as follows: "Human Physiology—a Knowledge of the laws of Health and Life—is now becoming common in the better class of schools throughout the state." Widespread introduction of this and the other biological sciences had to await the propaganda of the English scientists, Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer of the mid-century period.

¹⁵ *American Journal of Education*, IV, 169–173.

DRAWING IN THE EARLY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Drawing was introduced into the course of the public schools of the country in 1821, when William B. Fowle began teaching the subject in a monitorial school for boys in Boston. Fowle became an able and enthusiastic advocate. He was one of the first drawing masters to make use of blackboards, slates, and drawing instruments. For the instruction of teachers he translated and published (1827) Francoeur's *L'enseignement du dessin lineaire* under the title *The Eye and Hand*. This book, which went through at least three editions, set forth his method of teaching pupils to draw geometric figures, and objects such as urns, bowls, pitchers, and the like.¹⁶ Fowle's work, which continued through the second quarter of the century, represents the beginning of the public school art movement in New England. In 1864 Boston began to require the teaching of drawing in the schools and in 1868 inaugurated a complete system for all grades, including the high school and the normal course.

Under the leadership of Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and other advocates of the Prussian plan of teaching art and industry, the movement obtained wide publicity. The large cities New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Cleveland were first to recognize the subject.

Although drawing in the early days was taught chiefly in the elementary grades, it was sometimes continued in the high school. It is difficult to distinguish between what was considered elementary and what secondary. William Newton Bartholomew, whose graded drawing books were used in Boston and elsewhere after 1868, proceeded from "freehand drawing in outline, geometric drawing, model and object drawing and perspective" in the elementary grades, to pencil sketches of boathouses, cottages, boats, trees, and the like, in the advanced years. Owing to the rapid development of manufacturing enterprises in New England, the industrial motive came to dominate the art courses, and mechanical drawing became more prominent in the offering.

¹⁶ Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

SINGING SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC SCHOOL MUSIC

Singing schools and classes for the improvement of church music began springing up in the Eastern states before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Spreading rapidly, these organizations soon became a recognized feature of the community life, not only of the East but of the far-flung frontier. For a hundred years or more, they furnished the only musical instruction within reach of the rural masses. In them singing "by rule and art" (note reading) was taught by private adventure teachers or by locally trained leaders. Often only a few lessons were given at the close of the harvest, or during the long winter evenings, but old and young alike shared in the training. In the course of time, singing school conventions brought together the music lovers of a broad area, perhaps of a whole state, to improve their singing and to learn the better methods of conducting the local singing schools.¹⁷

About the year 1830, Lowell Mason, a Boston music master with the gift of leadership, sensed the pedagogical possibilities in these informal conventions and prepared his *Manual of Instruction* to be used in them. The book was accepted as a text and passed quickly into the hands of numerous singing school masters. It led not only to the improvement of methods in the singing schools, but to a widespread popularization of music.

The singing school reached only those with a "musical ear." Those who did not possess this gift were not urged to take part. The widely prevalent idea that only the talented few could sing, or even appreciate music, had to be broken down before music could make much headway. This task was now to be assumed by the public schools. Largely through the efforts of Lowell Mason, music was introduced into the public schools of Boston in 1838, and during the thirties and forties it gained a foothold in the schools of the larger towns of the East and the Middle West. At first the music classes were hardly more than transplanted singing schools, but after considerable experimentation there came praiseworthy improvement in methods of teaching.

¹⁷ Edward B. Birge, *History of Public School Music in the United States*, Oliver Ditson Company, Boston, 1928, Chap. I.

VOCATIONAL STUDIES

Early academies and high schools almost invariably included bookkeeping in their curriculums. The Woburn Academy offered it as early as 1815, and the Boston English Classical School, by including it in 1823, set the precedent for the first of the high schools. The popularity of the subject increased with the advance of the century. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, high schools in such representative cities as Philadelphia (1845), Baltimore (1851), and Columbus (1851) were teaching it. In New York state by 1849, according to the Regents' reports, 130 of the 154 academies had introduced it. The subject was sometimes expanded into more than a one-year course. For instance, the Philadelphia High School offered two and a half years of bookkeeping, and the Baltimore school offered it in all four years.

The English course, which ran parallel with the classical course in the academies and high schools, offered a practical curriculum for pupils not preparing for college. Vocational studies, such as surveying, navigation, and bookkeeping, if offered at all, were to be found in this course. The course usually had a commercial bent and featured bookkeeping through several scholastic years.

On January 14, 1805, A. Monarch, a Scotch immigrant, announced the opening of his "Mercantile Academy" in Philadelphia, a school offering only the commercial subjects—writing, arithmetic, and bookkeeping. Contemporary schools of this type furnished the embryo of later "commercial colleges."¹⁸ To R. M. Bartlett, of Philadelphia, and later of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, is attributed the origin of the term "business college." The business college movement made some headway before the Civil War, but the era of its greatest prosperity was to come later. The energy and resourcefulness of H. B. Bryant and H. P. Stratton are largely responsible for the spread of the idea. These enterprising partners inaugurated the first "chain" of business colleges, which by 1867 numbered more than a dozen institutions in cities of the East and Middle West.

Early business colleges, having few textbooks, taught from manu-

¹⁸ Mulhern, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

scripts prepared by accountants actually engaged in business. The art of the penman was an essential feature of the training. Platt B. Spencer, connected with Bartlett's school in Cincinnati in 1848, later achieved distinction as the promoter of the "Spencerian" system of penmanship. The same conditions that brought forth these private institutions produced the public high schools (see p. 209). In each case, the commercial interests of the larger trading centers are responsible. The need for better trained bookkeepers and office assistants led, in certain instances, to the erection of public high schools featuring largely the English course of contemporary academies, and in other instances to the organization of private business colleges.

THE BUDDING INTEREST IN AGRICULTURE

Among the first in America to voice an interest in the study of agriculture was Benjamin Franklin. His recommendation in regard to this subject, while not immediately important, was prophetic.¹⁹ In his enthusiasm for agricultural education, Franklin did not stand alone. Washington, Jefferson, and Noah Webster may be mentioned as only a few of his contemporaries who shared it with him. Between 1775 and 1800 societies for the improvement of agriculture were organized in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, New York, and Connecticut. This rather general movement for the promotion of agriculture as a basic industry reflects to some extent the thought of French philosophers of the same period.

So far as the organization of courses in schools is concerned, the movement did not for many years get beyond the theoretical stage. In 1819, Simeon Dewitt suggested the founding of an agricultural college with a "Professor of Practical Agriculture," but the suggestion was not heeded. The Gardiner Lyceum in Maine, chartered in 1822, "to give mechanics and farmers such an education as will fit them to become skilled in their professions," lasted only ten years.²⁰ The manual labor school movement, during the second quarter of the nine-

¹⁹ See Franklin's *Proposals for the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania*.

²⁰ Edwin E. Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921, Chap. XIV.

teenth century, led to the organization of a number of schools in imitation of the agricultural institution established by Emanuel Fellenberg at Hofwyl, Switzerland. The institutions of this type, dedicated chiefly to ends other than the improvement of agriculture, were destined to only a brief existence. They served a good purpose, however, in preparing the way for the later development of agricultural schools.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

Benjamin Rush, about 1790, had recommended that intellectual and physical training receive attention together, but it was some years before much attention was paid to the idea. Two German refugees, Charles Beck and Charles Follen, were among the earliest to promote an interest in physical education in this country. Beck in 1823 set up apparatus in an outdoor gymnasium and introduced German gymnastics into the daily program of the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts.²¹

Follen became a teacher of German at Harvard, where he introduced the Jahn system of gymnastics. Here also he established the first college gymnasium in the United States. Under his direction the students constructed some crude apparatus including ladders, bars, and wooden horses, provided places for running and jumping and secured a vacant hall for indoor work. Gymnastics were not required, but the students from the first were very enthusiastic and turned out in large numbers for the training, most of which was given after school.

Interest in gymnastics increased for a while, and Yale, Amherst, and Bowdoin provided outdoor gymnasiums. Similar provisions were made, about the same time, in fifteen secondary schools. In some schools a room was also provided for indoor work. Apparatus similar to that at the Round Hill School was installed and instruction was usually given from two to five times a week. Hiking and running were encouraged, and some schools even taught boxing and fencing. Although the schools, for the most part, failed to retain the interest in gymnastics

²¹ Emmett A. Rice, *A Brief History of Physical Education*, A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, 1926, p. 153.

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stimulated by Beck and Follen, the work of these men had a permanent influence. Even after the practice of gymnastics ceased in most schools, physicians and educators continued to feel the need for something in the way of physical education. Girls' academies quite generally promoted gymnastics. (See p. 278.) Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, and other educators stoutly maintained that physical exercise and instruction in hygiene and physiology were necessary for a complete education. The educational world was too busy, however, with problems which it considered of greater importance to pay attention to these suggestions.

About 1850 the efforts of the advocates of physical education began to bear fruit. The literature on the subject increased and was widely read. George Windship toured the United States and Canada lecturing on gymnastics and giving weight-lifting exhibitions; the Swedish movement began to gain recognition in America; the Turnvereine—German athletic clubs—gave public exhibitions; private gymnasiums were organized in large cities; sports, such as baseball, became popular, and efforts were made by several cities to organize systems of physical training for the public schools.

Superintendent Nathan Bishop of Boston was one of the first to attempt to secure a place for physical education in the program of the public schools. He recommended in his report of 1852 that the younger children be given, in addition to the exercise obtained during the recess periods, some "gentle" exercise such as marching or walking every half hour. A year later Boston made a rule that some type of physical exercise be provided daily in every school, but this rule was not enforced. A later Boston superintendent in 1858 urged that every school should be provided with playgrounds, whatever the cost, and that these should be used.

Interest in physical education developed in other cities. In 1855 John H. Tice, Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, reported that many schools of that city had been equipped with play apparatus which was being used during recess. Superintendent A. J. Rickoff of Cincinnati, in his report of 1857 noting that in four schoolyards there were a few circular swings, parallel bars, and horizontal ladders, recommended that the teachers of the first six grades be trained to give gymnastic

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exercises. A few years later he requested that teachers give calisthenics for five minutes at the end of every recitation.

The schools were handicapped in these early efforts by a lack of funds, facilities, and trained teachers. There was little agreement as to how the training should be offered. The manual labor schools advocated the substitution of useful farm or shop work for physical exercises. Calisthenics was offered in a few schools and military training in others.

RÉSUMÉ

The period is characterized by increasing secularization of the curriculum. The classics were now taught for secular culture rather than religion, the purpose being to provide the gentleman with a scholarly gloss of superficial accomplishments. Public discourse in oral or written form followed the models of British orators and literary men who had developed the English classical style.

Many new subjects, representing interests that had not heretofore been recognized, were brought into the schools. Among these may be mentioned English composition, advanced reading and literature, civil government, American history, geography, physiology, chemistry, and physical education.

The study of the English language showed a marked advance. Formal grammar and rhetoric were the approved mediums of instruction. Rules for correct, accurate, and graceful expression were set before the student with the expectation that he would memorize them and apply them when needed. Few exercises were provided for the development of appropriate habits.

The era of exuberant patriotism evoked an interest in the social studies. General history came to be widely studied. Civics and American history appeared in abortive forms, and random experiments indicate a groping for appropriate methods of teaching the values of democratic citizenship.

The industrial revolution is reflected in the rapid advance of scientific studies. The interest was almost wholly in the science which had immediate value. There was no development of new principles, but widespread activity in propagating those elementary principles that

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might be readily put to practical use. Chemistry and physics, botany, physiology, and agriculture were not yet formal studies, as we know them, but were informal activities which gratified the curiosity of the people with reference to forces of nature—particularly those forces that could be harnessed in the service of man.

Mathematics took the lead and advanced from the early study of devices of value in trade or industry to the formal study of the more advanced theory of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. Before any of the newer studies mathematics attained the prominence of a substantial teaching subject and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, was recognized as of importance, second only to the classics as a cultural subject.

There was a budding interest in the fine arts. At first, it was chiefly in schools for girls that music and drawing flourished, if at all, and here only in the form of parlor accomplishments. Later, New England public schools introduced both subjects.

From the point of view of intellectual interest the period is one of great activity. The study of the classics for formal culture and the dissemination of secular learning of immediate value to the individual are outstanding characteristics of the period.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Make a further study for the period between 1800 and 1860 of the relative strength of these six motives for education: (a) culture; (b) practical utility, mental discipline; (c) citizenship; (d) morality; (e) religion.
2. Are the classics being taught today for the motives outlined in this chapter?
3. Account for the fact that arithmetic and English grammar dominated the intermediate grades during this period.
4. Prepare a brief essay on the subject: "Jacksonian Democracy and the Teaching of History and Civics."
5. Compare the data of this chapter for any subject with the account of the same subject given in Chapter Six, "The Secularization of the Curriculum" and note the progress in development.
6. Do you think that the teaching of the sciences would have better served the purposes of that day if the subjects had been better organized?

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Education of Women

THE TRADITIONAL ATTITUDE

The British conception of womanhood was as much a part of the cultural heritage as were any of the social institutions transplanted in this country during the seventeenth century. French, Dutch, German, and Swedish immigrants brought with them the ideals of their respective lands which, however, differed little from that of Great Britain. The American colonies, in general, reflected the conception of woman's position as it prevailed in the mother country. The universal conviction that her sphere was the home fixed the scope of her education within narrow limits.

The flare of interest in the intellectual improvement of the sex in Queen Elizabeth's reign had soon died out and an era of indifference, marked, at times, by open hostility toward her education, had ensued. As late as the eighteenth century the most prominent men opposed the higher education of women. Bishop Burnet condemned it, Dr. Samuel Johnson scoffed at it, and Lord Chesterfield mocked it without mercy.¹ The arguments directed against it were: (1) that the simple duties of the home did not call for extensive education; and (2) that the mind of woman was not capable of acquiring it.

¹ Thomas Woody, *The History of the Education of Women in the United States*, The Science Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1929, I, 40-42.

Daniel Defoe, among the few who deplored the general neglect, defined the limits of women's education in his day, as follows:

Their youth is spent to teach them to stitch and sew, or make baubles. They are taught to read indeed, and perhaps to write their names, or so: and that is the height of a woman's education.²

To this meager training later generations added the superficial accomplishments of music, drawing, French, and fancy needlework.

The brilliant women who presided over the gatherings of illustrious men in the salons of Paris were living testimonials to the mental capacity of their sex.³ Such an example was badly needed in France, where women were prized for wit and charm but not for solid intellectual attainments.

Across the English Channel, about the same time, Hannah More complained of the shallow superficial training accorded women of the better classes and Mary Wollstonecraft scathingly denounced the current practice of educating women to be "alluring mistresses" rather than "rational Wives." Wollstonecraft was the first of a long line of militant crusaders for equal rights. Her strident protest was supported by Erasmus Darwin, John Stuart Mill, and other nineteenth-century thinkers who urged a more substantial form of education for women.⁴

THE PIONEER WOMAN

In America, as in England, the home was the seventeenth-century woman's sphere. The only difference was that arising from the new environment. In this country frontier life taxed the resources of the woman's mind to a greater extent, engendering self-reliance and independence. Here, too, responsibilities belonging more properly to the man were frequently added to the traditional round of housework, child care, and spinning. The management of the pioneer home, as a self-sufficient economic unit, called for a different division of labor

² *Essay on Projects*, 1697.

³ Helen Clergue, *The Salon*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1907, pp. 166-196.

⁴ Woody, *op. cit.*, I, p. 33-37.

from that demanded by the European household. The new environment undoubtedly laid more varied burdens on the woman and gave a broader scope for the exercise of her mental powers. What wonder if she came to assert herself more boldly than did her European sister?

But learned women were not popular in that day. St. Paul's injunction that they defer to their husbands in matters calling for judgment or reflection was taken literally. Anne Hutchinson, in the estimation of most people, was a forward woman who set a bad example. That doleful poet, Anne Bradstreet, complained in bitter verse:

I am obnoxious to each carping tongue
Who says my hand a needle better fits . . .

Eliza Southgate, many years later, found to her sorrow that the "mind of a female, if such a thing existed, was thought not worth cultivating." Learning did not improve a woman's matrimonial prospects. Virtue, patience, humility, and usefulness were more highly prized than intellect. In mental possibilities she was generally regarded as inferior to men.⁵

EDUCATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

There were few opportunities for the education of little girls in the colonies. In families where the parents had the time, ability, or inclination to teach them, they were probably taught to read about as frequently as were the little boys, but such families were in the minority. The little girls were admitted to the dame schools along with the boys, but if they received any advantage from the Latin schools it was after school hours or in the summer. Dutch children of both sexes attended the parochial schools and the Quakers made no distinction so far as elementary education was concerned. About one woman in four, prior to 1700, was able to read and to write her name. Women who improved themselves further by private study were rare. Training for household duties was obtained, of course, in the home. Religion was an ever-present factor in the instruction of the home and school.

⁵ *Ibid.* Professor Woody has treated this matter exhaustively. I am indebted to his monumental two-volume text for most of the data in this chapter.

EDUCATION FOR FORMAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Changing social and economic conditions are reflected in the education offered eighteenth-century girls. Certain families in nearly all the colonies had by this time accumulated enough wealth to relieve their wives and daughters of the heavier burdens of housework. To such, the fine arts of home life, music, dancing, French, and fancy needlework made an appeal. Because these accomplishments were associated with the culture of the better classes, and because America was acutely sensitive to distinctions of caste, people of means and social ambition now sought to have their daughters acquire them. In this, America followed the leadership of contemporary England.

The tenor of the thought of the time may be gauged by the titles of books intended for women. Among the titles to which bookdealers directed the attention of feminine readers in New York and Philadelphia, the following, among others, were listed in advertisements: *The Country Housewife and Lady's Monthly Director, Friendly Instructor or A Companion for Young Ladies and Young Gentlemen, The Lady's Preceptor, The Matrimonial Preceptor, The Compleat House Wife or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman*.⁶ Obviously the book trade sensed the popular interest of women in matters of courtesy and household efficiency.

THE FINE ARTS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The demand for the polite accomplishments, particularly in the Middle and Southern colonies, is reflected in the offerings of private adventure teachers from 1720 on. An increasing number of dancing schools sought pupils through the medium of Eastern newspapers. The vogue was even more pronounced in the South as Professor Woody testifies:

In every city of the South by the middle of the eighteenth century, schools of dancing and music masters began to be very popular;

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.

and on the plantations Virginia gentlemen employed tutors capable of teaching their daughters accomplishments while the boys were usually taught more substantial subjects.⁷

Dancing-school masters took care of the manners and drawing-room deportment of their pupils. They frequently offered to teach instrumental music also, particularly the playing of the flute or violin, or of the spinet, harpsichord, or piano. In wealthy families tutors gave the daughters of the household the desired instruction.

Everywhere plain and fancy needlework vied for popularity with music and dancing. The numerous advertisements for pupils in New England newspapers indicate an appeal to a particularly wide clientele in that section. A complete list of the ornamental arts that were advertised would fill half a page of this book. Among those most frequently mentioned were embroidery, tapestry, filigree, pattern drawing, featherwork, flowering on muslin, and nun's work. Instruction in painting on velvet or glass sometimes accompanied that in needlework.

An increasing number of private schools for girls sprang up in New York and Philadelphia between 1720 and 1775. The advertisements indicate that, after about 1750, from five to ten such schools were operating in each of these cities at the same time. In the earlier years the offerings were narrowly restricted to dancing and needlework, but, as the century wore on, they were more varied and substantial. English grammar, French, and arithmetic, in addition to reading and writing, were advertised before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, but Latin rarely, if ever, appeared.⁸ What was true of New York and Philadelphia was doubtless true to a less degree of most of the other larger towns.

The leading authority on the history of women's education concludes his survey of the period with the following significant statement:

Whatever else may be said of ladies' education in the eighteenth century, either in the South or the North, it must be admitted that it was designed to satisfy—the gentlemen, with few exceptions.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 230, 281.

Music and dancing by the ladies made the greatest appeal, naturally, but fine needlework was not without its admirers.⁹

THE DEMAND FOR MORE SUBSTANTIAL STUDIES

The aspiration to improve the intellectual status of women was a romantic tendency in line with the spirit of the times. Though it did not appear in the teachings of Rousseau,¹⁰ there were other advocates, just as ardent, to forward the movement. In this country those who fought to secure the privilege of substantial schooling for the sex were heart-and-soul romanticists. Such were Benjamin Rush, Dewitt Clinton, Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, Mary Lyon, and others.

Benjamin Rush, distinguished physician and Revolutionary patriot, reflected upon the type of education suitable for a woman as the wife of a citizen of the young republic. He concluded that "female education should be accommodated to the state of society, manners, and government of the country, in which it is conducted."¹¹ Accordingly, Rush dismissed as improper and insufficient for this country the conventional education of women in England. As the duties of democratic citizenship called for a broader range of knowledge on the part of the man, so, he thought, the responsibilities of the free American's household called for greater breadth of learning on the part of the wife and mother.

The curriculum which he planned for the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia was much more substantial than any offered by the girls' schools of that day. He thought it particularly "incumbent upon us to make ornamental accomplishments yield to principles and knowledge, in the education of our women." In the course Dr. Rush included English language, grammar, spelling, reading, writing, bookkeeping

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

¹⁰ In *Émile*, Rousseau planned a highly individualistic education for his hero but pictured Émile's consort, Sophie, as a girl with the conventional education of the times.

¹¹ Benjamin Rush, "Thoughts upon Female Education, Accommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners, and Government, in the United States of America," *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*, 2d ed., Philadelphia, 1806. The date of the essay quoted is 1787.

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for practical purposes, geography and chronology for understanding history and travels, elementary science, vocal music, dancing "for grace and health," reading of poetry, moral essays, and regular instruction in the Christian religion.¹² This program proved to have great influence in shaping the curriculums of girls' schools for the next fifty years.

With the opening of the new century, sentiment favoring stronger, more realistic studies for women was finding expression from New England to Mississippi. A contributor to the *Charleston (S.C.) Observer* voiced an opinion that was doubtless widely prevalent. Wrote he:

Every view we can take of the bearing of female influence on the character and destiny of our race, enforces the importance that female education should be of the most substantial kind. I think but little of a young lady's ability to pencil a rose, or polish a wax flower. I would rather see you able to analyze the flower itself, plucked in its season fragrant with its native sweets, glowing with its native, inimitable colors, and enamel. I prize at a low rate the graces, which consist in exact and measured genuflections, curved lines and angles. I would have you cultivate a sound understanding, and quick sense of propriety in all your intercourse with society, in all your intercourse with yourselves. The character which will be thus formed under the influence of a meek and quiet spirit, will recommend you to approbation, when every design of art will fail.¹³

NEW SCHOOLS WITH BROADER PROGRAMS

From about 1800 on, there was a higher premium upon intellectual attainments. Private school teachers were quick to detect the drift. It is significant that girl schools were usually called "academies" or "female seminaries" after about 1780. The change of title probably indicates a course containing some of the "solid" subjects. The famous Moravian School, founded at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1749, was known as a female seminary after 1785. Poor's Academy of Philadelphia dating from about 1780, was one of the earliest of the so-called academies for girls. The Young Ladies' Academy of the same city,

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Quoted in Woody, *op. cit.*, I, 99.

already mentioned as a project of Dr. Rush, came into being in 1787. Academies at Greenfield Hill and Medford, Connecticut, were founded about the same time.

There can be no question that "throughout three-fourths of the nineteenth century the seminary (academy) was the dominant agency of woman's advanced education."¹⁴ After 1800, this type of institution sprang up in considerable numbers in widely separated communities. The Salem Academy, founded by the Moravians at Salem, North Carolina, began in 1802 a distinguished career that has extended down to the present. The Litchfield (1802) and Bradford (1803) academies in New England were founded just a little later. The Legislative Council of the Territory of Orleans (Louisiana) authorized the regents of the university, established by the same act, to found "such a number of academies in this Territory as they may judge fit for the instruction of the youth of the female sex in the English and French languages, and in such branches of polite literature and such liberal arts and accomplishments as may be suitable to the age and sex of the pupils."¹⁵ None of these institutions materialized, and we are here interested in the incident only as it reflects the sentiment of a frontier state. Other frontier states were just as forward as the older states in providing for the education of girls. Contemporary with the establishment of the earlier female academies of Massachusetts, similar institutions sprang up at Bath (1808) and Bangor (1818), Maine. The Nazareth Academy (1808) at Bardstown, Kentucky, and Moses Fisk's Female Academy (1806) at Hilham, Tennessee, were of the same period as the Ann Smith Academy (1807) at Lexington, Virginia, and the Richmond and Baltimore female academies. The Elizabeth Academy, established in 1819 at Washington, Mississippi offered a curriculum probably as advanced as any similar institution of its day.

For three decades of the nineteenth century the seminaries were sporadic over a wide area and few were of substantial character. The second quarter of the century, however, saw them spring up in great numbers in each of the states. They gradually improved the character of their courses and, before public secondary and higher institutions

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 363.

¹⁵ An Act to Institute an University in the Territory of Orleans, Sec. V, April 19, 1805.

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began to replace them about 1860, they rendered a significant service to women's education.

Yet, as late as the third decade of the nineteenth century the home was still thought to be the exclusive sphere of women's influence. According to the prevailing conception her activities were limited to household duties, entertainment in the home, and the rearing of children. Public sentiment generally did not countenance more than this. In preparation for these duties the public schools offered nothing beyond the elementary subjects, and the private seminaries hardly more than the superficial accomplishments. But times were changing. Household responsibilities, particularly those relating to the education of children, were being regarded more seriously, and thoughtful people here and there were demanding a broader intellectual training for their girls.

THE CRUSADERS

Advanced schooling was not widely popular among the women themselves, and it was generally thought unbecoming a lady to aspire to it. The cause consequently lacked the leadership of women. After about 1820, however, interest deepened and women became more self-assertive. Three New England women, working independently of one another, are largely responsible for the advance to a standard of instruction higher than that of the average seminary. Each of these made a distinctive contribution to the progressive movement. Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon espoused the cause of "female education" with the zeal of crusaders. Mindful of the temper of the times, they were cautious in questioning the traditional conception of the home as women's sphere but held that women in the home needed something more than an elementary education and the customary accomplishments.

EMMA WILLARD

Emma Hart Willard, a courageous schoolmistress from Connecticut, took the first forward step. Believing that adequate facilities for the education of her sex could not be provided without the aid of the state,

she addressed a petition to the New York legislature asking for support in the founding of girls' schools. In this petition, which she later published as a pamphlet under the title, *A Plan for Improving Female Education*, Mrs. Willard set forth a claim for more substantial educa-



Bettmann Archive

Emma Willard

tion for future wives and mothers. She asked for equal opportunity for her sex but not necessarily the same type of education as that provided for boys. Notwithstanding the able advocacy of Governor Dewitt Clinton, the legislature denied her request. She was fortunate, however, in securing assistance from the City Council of Troy, New York, for a female seminary to be opened in that prosperous little city. Here she established an institution embodying the principles which she had in mind. It became a seminary of standards as high as any obtaining in that day, but it was not a college. Its reputation spread and students flocked to it in great numbers. After some years, the founder was able to retire from its active management, acclaimed as one of the most famous women in America.

Mrs. Willard believed that women should have minds well stored with useful information and disciplined by the study of such "solid" studies as mathematics, "natural, mental, and moral philosophy," geography, and the scientific study of "housewifery." She illustrated the

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teaching of her favorite subject, geometry, with forms cut from paper, potatoes, and turnips. When the geography she was using proved unsatisfactory she set to writing one of her own. She did not abandon the accomplishments so highly prized in earlier schools, but gave new direction to their teaching. She placed great store by history and religion. In all this it is clear that Emma Willard planned a type of education for women that was different from that offered to men. It was to train women for the home, but it was for a home that now demanded a broader range of intellectual interests and a sterner discipline of the mental faculties.

CATHERINE BEECHER

Catherine Beecher began her distinguished career as teacher and propagandist when she founded the Hartford Female Seminary in 1828. Here she aspired to develop a woman's college in which to incorporate her advanced ideas on education. When, after a few years, the project proved impractical, she abandoned it and embarked on a missionary enterprise having as its motive the promotion of women's education on what was then the Western frontier. Her plan was to interest women of the more prosperous cities of this region in establishing girls' schools and to supply teachers through an agency operating in New England.

Miss Beecher proposed to embody her ideas of education in the new institutions. She traveled widely, lectured, and wrote upon the subject. Ultimately, seminaries were established at Milwaukee and Dubuque. Aside from this measure of success, the project largely failed. Miss Beecher, however, continued her crusade for the higher education of women and the cause profited from the publicity she gave it.

Catherine Beecher's conception of woman's sphere included the home, nursing, and teaching. The type of advanced institution which she had in mind was to furnish training in these three fields. She developed what Emma Willard had called the "scientific study of housewifery" into a teaching subject when, in 1842, she published her *Treatise on Domestic Economy*. Motivated, no doubt, by the current disparagement of women's education on the ground that close application to studies tended to injure their health, she introduced calisthenic

exercises into her school at Hartford and ever afterward urged physical education for women.

MARY LYON

The last of the trio of crusaders was Mary Lyon. She was a woman of great religious fervor combined with fanatical zeal for women's education. Her abounding sympathy for girls of meager means led her to found a school where the cost of instruction would be reduced to a minimum. Her evangelistic eloquence raised \$27,000—a large sum in that day—by subscription for the founding of Mount Holyoke Seminary. Here she prosecuted the sterner studies with earnest purpose. Although she expected the girls to share in the household duties of the seminary she did not attach any educational value to such work. Nor did she take time from the serious intellectual activities to devote to physical exercise. The household duties, she thought, were sufficient for this. She gave a deeply religious tone to the instruction and Mount Holyoke in later years sent out a number of its graduates to engage in mission work. The standards were high for a seminary but the institution did not become a college until nearly the end of the century.

ALMIRA LINCOLN PHELPS

Belonging to this group of pioneer educators, but hardly to be classed as a crusader, was Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps, Emma Willard's younger sister. Mrs. Phelps followed the general plan of education worked out by her sister. With a canny New England sense for the practical, she made up in mental alertness what she lacked in originality. After teaching with Emma Willard at Troy for a few years, she founded in succession several seminaries of her own. The most important, the Patapsco Female Institute, located near Baltimore, enrolled students from many Middle and Southern states. For fifty years she was more than a local character. Her fame, which has now begun to fade, rests chiefly upon her textbooks in botany, chemistry, and natural philosophy which tended to fix these subjects as appropriate studies for young ladies in seminaries everywhere. Science teaching on the secondary level owes much to her pioneering efforts.

SO-CALLED FEMALE COLLEGES

During the second quarter of the century a prolific crop of female academies sprang up in the Southern and Western states. These usually offered more of the "solid subjects" than the earlier institutions had provided. Several of them strove to attain the standards of the colleges for men. In this they were no more successful than were the seminaries of the East. All stumbled on the hurdle of a classical curriculum preceded by the conventional entrance requirements in Latin and Greek. The Georgia Female College, founded at Macon in 1839, claims the distinction of being the first college for women to be opened in this country. It bases its claim upon the merits of a course equal to that of neighboring colleges for men. Professor Woody recently appraised the curricula of this and the "neighboring colleges" and concluded that the Georgia Female College, although offering an advanced seminary course, failed to measure up to the standards of a college.¹⁶ He also maintained that the best of the so-called female colleges established before the Civil War, notably the Mary Sharp College, Winchester, Tennessee (1848), and the Elmira Female College, Elmira, New York (1852), although offering work "worthy of the name 'collegiate,' comparable in varying degrees with that done at men's colleges," were not "able to duplicate the male college curriculum."¹⁷

THE EASTERN COLLEGES FOR WOMEN

Gradually, the demand for equal opportunity under a separate curriculum gave way to a desire for a "college like a man's." For years many had doubted woman's ability to master the difficult studies of the classical program and many others who freely admitted that she might be competent enough, nevertheless questioned the wisdom of permitting her to tax her strength with the trial. Women now yearned to submit to the test. The opportunity came for the first time in the East when Matthew Vassar provided ample funds for the college

¹⁶ Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 160-167.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

which now bears his name. Vassar College was opened in 1865 and attained the full status of a college, in the masculine sense of the word, by 1875. Matthew Vassar's example was followed by other benefactors who made possible the establishment of Wellesley and Smith colleges in 1875, and Bryn Mawr in 1880. These institutions have consistently maintained high standards of instruction in the liberal arts. They have furnished a model for numerous institutions since founded in other parts of the country.

COEDUCATION IN THE COLLEGES

While women of the East were having a struggle to secure the advantage of collegiate instruction, their sisters in the West were finding the way to it through new institutions open to both sexes. Oberlin College, which had been founded (1833) under a liberal policy, admitting students of proper preparation regardless of race or sex, had graduated seventy-nine women with the B.A. degree by 1865. Antioch College (1853) was coeducational and of good standing for the time. The new denominational colleges and state universities of the Middle West admitted both sexes. Iowa State University was coeducational from its opening in 1856. Women students were admitted to the normal department of the University of Wisconsin in 1860 and, ten years later, the legislature appropriated \$50,000 to build a dormitory for women. In 1870 the University of Michigan, the leading state university at that time, threw open its professional departments, as well as the literary, and enrolled seventeen women in medicine and one in law, in addition to those who registered in the literary department. The movement for coeducation spread to the Eastern colleges and, before the end of the century, all except the most conservative either admitted women to classes with men or provided for them in coordinate colleges. The latter procedure, which had been initiated with the founding of H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College (1886) as a branch of the Tulane University of Louisiana, was followed at Columbia with the organization of Barnard College (1889) and at Harvard with the development of the "Harvard Annex" into Radcliffe College (1894). The state universities of the South Atlantic division were slow to yield to coeducation but now these accept the principle, and, in states where

girls are not specially provided for in separate colleges for women, admit them to all departments.¹⁸

COEDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The reader's attention has already been called to the fact that New England Latin schools admitted girls, if at all, only after regular hours. In Philadelphia, the Board of Overseers of the Penn Charter School, which had separate departments for the sexes, were so particular about keeping boys from mingling with girls that they "desired to get an Alley open'd from Chestnut St. to the School-house on the East side of the Lott and a Stair case made outside the House leading immediately to the East Chamber."¹⁹ The general practice everywhere was to provide separate schools or departments for girls, if any provision at all was made for them.

The academies and earlier high schools almost invariably followed this procedure. Yet there were exceptions which were later to constitute a new rule. A few private schools, even before 1750, were admitting both sexes.²⁰ In New England, the Leicester Academy (1793) taught both boys and girls but did not admit the girls to the Latin course. Coeducation was common in the academies of Maine after 1800 and in those of Indiana after 1830. When public high schools began springing up in the Middle Western states, the new institutions were coeducational from the start, admitting boys and girls not only to the same schools but to the same courses.

The larger cities of the East and South were slow to yield to coeducation. New York, Louisville, and New Orleans were among the last retaining separate schools for girls.

Coeducation has now become the usual practice in high schools of all sections of the country. Most educators hold that it facilitates the educative process for both sexes.

¹⁸ In the interest of continuity, data properly belonging to the latter half of the nineteenth century are presented in this chapter. The account of the education of women in the twentieth century may be found on pp. 418-419.

¹⁹ Woody, I, 235. A quotation from the minutes of the Board of Overseers.

²⁰ James Mulhern, *History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, published by the author, Philadelphia, 1933, p. 108.

COEDUCATION AND THE SECONDARY CURRICULUM

The education of girls in coeducational secondary schools was a significant achievement of the nineteenth century. The seminaries had developed a feminized curriculum with ends and means different from those of contemporary schools for boys. Here music, art, fancy needlework, English belles-lettres, French, and other subjects designed to promote an alert refined personality had been stressed. This exotic program did not long resist the clamor for more substantial studies. Crusaders for equal rights demanded not only the secondary education of women at public expense but the recognition of woman's mental powers as equal with those of man. The superficial accomplishments of the earlier "female academies" were pursued more seriously or else they were relegated to a minor place. Women now accepted the challenge to prove their equality in mental equipment and welcomed the stern discipline of the most difficult subjects. Coeducation of the sexes in a common curriculum featuring Latin and mathematics was for them the only acceptable answer.

By the end of the century girls outnumbered boys in attendance in public high schools and were demonstrating their ability to appropriate the traditional subject matter of the boys' school. The curriculum resulting from the union of the sexes in the same school represents a compromise between the earlier separate curriculums. The development of courses in home economics, music, and art, now open to both sexes, is an outgrowth of practices in the old-time seminaries. There can hardly be any doubt that the seminaries also did much to develop and popularize the teaching of English literature, French, and the sciences. Public sentiment has not permitted the schools to go unreminded of either the practical or the cultural needs of the sex. The readjustment of the curriculum to meet the requirements of girls is an important factor in its evolution.

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF WOMAN'S SPHERE

The change from the old order to the new took place gradually, and always under protest. The most prevalent conception of woman-

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hood in earlier days was that of a dutiful housewife, busy with her children, and making a virtue of domestic drudgery. This conception lasted until the factory released her from the spinning wheel and the public school took the children from under her constant oversight. Under the influence of new social and industrial conditions, the woman of this type enlarged her interests. She now undertook to mother the community and became increasingly active in church work, social reform, and public education. Her sphere was now a community as broad as her vision could comprehend.

Another of the older conceptions underwent a change. In the better colonial families the chief function of women was to entertain. They were expected to converse brightly, dance, and perhaps play on some musical instrument. In later times women springing from such a social background found an outlet to the larger life as promoters of cultural activities in their communities, or as professional musicians, dancers, actresses, or writers of light literature. Thus they carried forward, under different circumstances, the older ideal of self-realization through entertainment.

RÉSUMÉ

All this was achieved in the brief span of a few decades. The process of evolution is clearly observable in the advance. The obstacles set up by convention were overcome one by one. Woman insisted on being accepted seriously. Colonial schools offered nothing beyond an elementary education and the social accomplishments. The seminaries of the early national period introduced useful information through English literature, French, mathematics, and the natural sciences. Girls mastered these subjects with as little difficulty as boys experienced, and demanded Latin and Greek, which heretofore had been reserved for boys only. With the establishment of Vassar and the other Eastern colleges, women proved themselves competent in the study of the classics. Moreover they proved that the rigorous discipline of advanced study is not injurious to their health as many had feared. Co-education, which was unknown in early secondary and higher institutions, has become the rule.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Make a study of the old-time female academies of your state.
2. Prepare a paper on the contribution to education of: (a) Emma Willard; or (b) Catherine Beecher; or (c) Mary Lyon; or (d) Mrs. Lincoln Phelps.
3. To what extent should the education of girls be similar to that of boys? To what extent should it be different?
4. What are (a) the advantages and (b) the disadvantages of coeducation in high school and college?
5. What are (a) the merits and (b) the deficiencies of the girls' "finishing school"?
6. In what respects do the courses of Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr differ from those of the typical state-supported college? In what respect do their motives differ?

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*The Last Half of the
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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Drift into Modern Realism

I. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES, 1870-1900

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The thirty-five year period between 1865 and 1900 may be regarded as the aftermath of the Civil War. The cessation of hostilities released peacetime energies that found an outlet, on the one hand, in the settlement of the West and, on the other, in the industrialization of the North. In the meantime, the South lay prostrated from the exhaustion of war and reconstruction. Economic conditions differed in each of these three areas. Social and cultural life varied accordingly. At the beginning of this period there was no semblance of homogeneity for the country as a whole. There was a West and a South as truly as there was a North.

During the period there was a merging of interests. The development of facilities for transportation and communication tended increasingly to weld all sections together. Sectional prejudice was dying down; consciousness of cultural unity and economic interdependence was increasing. America was becoming a nation of one people. Forces set in motion long before, gradually, through the years, moved toward this end. The war with Spain at the close of the century brought men from all sections together in a common cause, thus cementing the ties of nationalism.

WESTWARD HO!

The fifty-year period between 1840 and 1890 witnessed the conquest of the northern Mississippi Valley and the vast territory lying between this river and the Pacific Ocean. This was accomplished by one of the largest peaceful migrations in all history. The settlement of the claim of the United States to the Oregon Territory and the accession of Texas, Arizona, and California at the conclusion of the Mexican War extended the limits of the country from coast to coast. Wisconsin and Iowa were occupied, and the covered-wagon trains were beginning to move over the Oregon Trail to the Pacific even before the discovery of gold in 1849. Mining interests lured hosts of people first to California and later to Colorado, Montana, and Nevada. The cattle industry, enlisting many venturesome spirits, spread upward from Texas and Arizona to Wyoming and Montana.

The miners and cowboys were pathfinders for the homesteaders who followed in their wake. Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas were soon well populated by natives and Scandinavians who furrowed the prairies for wheat and corn. The opening of Oklahoma in 1890 disposed of the last frontier. The end of the century saw the whole region wrested from the Indians and much of the arable portion under cultivation. Transcontinental railroads, with their many connecting lines, soon knit all sections of the West together and bound it securely to the East.¹

THE TEMPER OF THE WESTERN PEOPLE

For the most part, the West was peopled by the overflow of native population from the East and South. Whatever differences there might have been originally between the emigrants from the two older sections were soon obliterated by their intermingling in a more expansive environment. The pioneer spirit was borne westward under conditions that gave it scope for even fuller development. The West

¹ For statistical data bearing on this paragraph see Henry Gannett, *The Building of a Nation*, H. T. Thomas Company, New York, 1895, p. 57.

grew rapidly but the population did not lose its American savor. In fact, traits which had earlier been recognized as peculiar to the American people came to be accentuated in the new country. Nature and circumstances took a hand in developing a buoyant spirit, a hopeful outlook upon life, and confidence in self-sufficiency. Such education was not to be found in books or tradition.

Pioneering in a land of fabulous wealth and magnificent distances inevitably affected the temper and character of the people. Men here forgot the past and began life anew in an exhilarating climate. They shook off the prejudices and narrow conventions which still gripped the East and the South. They emphatically asserted their right to individual freedom and voiced their hatred of class distinctions. Here brains, courage, character, and gifts of leadership were alone the measure of a man. Though the Westerners granted everyone the right to an equal opportunity, they did not decree that all men should remain equal. Quick wit, sound judgment, skill in riding or shooting—in fact, merit of any sort—found ready recognition. Nowhere has Burns's line

A man's a man for a' that,

been more aptly applied than in the philosophy of the West.

But Western democracy, though highly individualistic, found a correlate in neighborliness. The necessity for cooperation in the wagon train, in the roundup, and in the daily life of isolated settlements bred a spirit of mutual service that to this day is highly characteristic of the West. This spirit is still apparent in the hospitality of the people to the idea that schools, hospitals, and eleemosynary institutions should be provided by contributions of all, for the benefit of all. From the beginning, such institutions were regarded as community enterprises without the taint of charity. This attitude is responsible for the phenomenally rapid development of public school systems in these states.²

By the time the last of the arable acres had been taken up, agriculture was entering a new era. The self-sufficient farm home was passing away while the one-crop system was gaining ascendancy. For in-

² For a delineation of Western character see Philip A. Rollins, *The Cowboy*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1922, pp. 347-353; Emerson Hough, *The Story of the Cowboy*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1897, pp. 331-335.

stance, wheat came to be the staple of Minnesota and the Dakotas, and corn and hogs the chief products of Illinois and Iowa. The crop was converted into money which was used for the purchase of all things needed on the farm, even products that might just as well have been raised at home. Capital for operating expenses came to be just as necessary as in industry. The farm came to be geared to the country bank which in turn was geared to the large city banks of the industrial East.

These were hard years for farm folk not only in the Middle West but throughout the country. As late as 1900, wheat was selling for seventy-five cents a bushel; corn, for forty cents; beef on hoof, for \$6.35 per hundred pounds; hogs, for \$4.90 per hundred; eggs, for nineteen cents a dozen; and butter, for twenty-five cents. It is no wonder that the agrarians joined the Populist movement in protest against hard times.

THE DECLINING FORTUNE OF THE SOUTH

The Civil War and the aftermath of Reconstruction set the South back fifty years. If the social and economic catastrophe visited upon this section can be justified on the ground that the old order had to be completely demolished to make way for a new building more in harmony with democratic ideals, the immediate waste and distress are in no wise diminished. Three million ignorant slaves, unaccustomed to providing for their most elementary wants, were liberated and enfranchised without land or capital wherewith to employ their new liberty. The feudal economy of the plantation system was wrecked. A vindictive Congress established a political despotism which it administered through the carpetbag governments of the respective states. The intelligent planter class was disfranchised; confiscatory taxes were levied; vast amounts of public money were squandered either through ignorance or design. As late as the second decade of the twentieth century the South was just regaining the economic level of ante-bellum days, so complete was the devastation.

Social and economic readjustment directed from within succeeded political reconstruction, directed from without, but the wounds healed slowly. Large numbers of discouraged planters moved to the cities and towns to engage in business or professional services; some migrated

to the North; many more went West. White farmers and a few Negroes acquired land through the abandonment or division of large plantations. In the main, the system of tenant farming arose. Under this system, the white landlord rented a small acreage to each of his tenants, the landlord furnishing home, mules, and supplies; the tenant farming the land and settling his indebtedness, usually in cotton, at the end of the year.

The well-known evils of tenant farming thus fastened themselves upon the South where they long continued as a plague to the section. The system fostered one-crop farming on the credit plan. The combination of ignorant tenants and indifferent landlords offered no incentive to the introduction of new methods of farming, to the conservation of the soil, or to the use of modern machinery. The price of cotton in 1900 was eight cents a pound and it did not rise much higher for over a decade. Hence agriculture remained stagnant. As late as 1912 the average value of land and improvements was less than nine dollars an acre, whereas in the Middle West it was four times this amount.

Until recent years the industrial development was greatly retarded. Though the cotton milling industry showed a steady growth in the Piedmont section and the iron industry in Alabama attained some importance, other lines of industry made little or no advance. In the absence of industries other than agriculture, the tide of foreign immigrants which poured into the factories of the East and the North Central states left the South untouched. The region thus escaped many of the social and industrial problems which perplexed other sections of the country.

BIG BUSINESS

Private business of the East and the northern Middle West had been tremendously enriched by government contracts for supplies for the Civil War. The new capital found an outlet in the building of railroads, in the development of coal and iron mines, in the acceleration of industrial activity, and in the exploitation of the natural resources of the far-reaching West. Corporate organization, bolstered by the famous Dartmouth College Decision and the Louisiana Slaughterhouse Cases (1873), became the medium for accumulating and administering large

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amounts of capital. The merging of small enterprises into great corporations began with the consolidation of fifty telegraph companies into Western Union. Thus, big business had its birth, and the basis was laid for the amassing of large private fortunes.

New wealth fell into strange hands. Western miners and ranchers emerged from obscurity with their millions. Poor young men, like Carnegie and Rockefeller in Pennsylvania, turned iron or oil into gold. Railroad and timber magnates raked in rich profits. The size of the new fortunes was unprecedented. The wealthiest man of pre-Civil War days was William B. Astor, who was worth only about six millions. After the war, the fortune of Cornelius Vanderbilt grew from ten to a hundred and four millions in twelve years! ³ Many unprepared to adjust themselves to a change in circumstances were catapulted from poverty into wealth.

The moneyed class claimed the power and prestige of their new position and either absorbed the old aristocratic class by intermarriage or brushed it into the background. They made a dazzling display of wealth in extravagant dress, fine houses, gorgeous furnishings, and lavish entertainment. This incongruous spectacle of splendor and bad taste was properly called the Gilded Age.

“RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM”

The titans of finance held to the doctrine of *laissez faire* in industry. They claimed the right of private corporations to exploit the country's natural resources at will; the right of the individual to acquire property to the full extent of his power and genius, provided that he keep within the letter of the law. They claimed the right to free competition with a minimum of interference by the government. They too often placed profits before human interests. In other words, their philosophy exalted the pioneer spirit of independence and self-reliance to the point where it overshadowed the common good. The spirit, called “rugged individualism,” which characterized the era, was to come in conflict with the newer tendency toward socialization in the 1930's.

³ Nathaniel W. Stephenson, *A History of the American People*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1934, p. 892.

NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

After the close of the Civil War, the economic development of the country went steadily forward. Certain areas in New England, the Middle Atlantic states, and the Great Lakes region abandoned farming for manufacturing. Improved transportation facilities promoted the centralization of industry in these areas. All sections except the states of the remote South and Southwest shared in the development. The nation emerged from the status of a pioneer community producing raw materials only into that of a mature society engaged in the refinement as well as the extraction of the products of nature.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION

The lure of free land in the West sadly depleted the native white population of the North Atlantic states at a time when industry in that section was demanding an increasing number of unskilled workers. Before the Civil War the Irish had responded to the demand for cheap labor on the new railroads and canals. With the boom in manufacturing and building that followed, the need was even more pressing. Employers were now permitted to bring in foreign laborers under contract to work out the cost of their passage. This opened the gates to the lower classes of immigrants and America became the land of liberty for the poor and oppressed of all nations.

The Germans and Scandinavians took the place of the Irish, who had quickly passed from the ranks of day labor. By 1880, when the number of foreign-born in the United States already numbered 7,000,000, the tide of immigration was pouring in at the rate of 450,000 a year, and, by the beginning of the new century, it reached the alarming rate of 1,000,000 a year. Loose immigration laws admitted the horde without discrimination.

The concentration of factories in centers affording an abundant labor supply promoted the rapid growth of cities. Small towns quickly grew into cities, and cities developed into metropolitan areas. The problem of the congestion of the foreign-born population in the slums of large cities was to become acute early in the new century (see p. 371).

THE MACHINE AGE

The advance of industry was furthered by numerous inventions. Edison invented the incandescent lamp, the electric car, the phonograph, and numerous time- and labor-saving devices. Alexander Bell perfected the telephone. Swift built a refrigerator car, and Pullman a sleeping car. Sholes invented the typewriter, and Burroughs the adding machine. These were among the earliest contributions of the period to the industrial movement. Other inventors did experimental work that prepared the way for automobiles and airplanes. Machines driven by electricity and gasoline were shortly to take the place of those operated by steam. All these inventions quickened the pace of the times and either directly or indirectly improved business everywhere, particularly in the North and East.

IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Revolutionary changes in agriculture and industry throughout the country were made possible only by a corresponding advance in facilities for transportation and communication. Until about 1850 transportation was largely by boats or ox teams. Before the end of the century railroads connected not only the cities and small towns of the East and North Central states, but penetrated the West to the Pacific and the South to the Florida Strait. Coastwise and river transportation were being taken over by the railroad lines by 1900. Freight trains brought coal, wheat, corn, lumber, cotton, cattle, and hogs to the Eastern and Northern markets, and in return delivered factory products to distant farmers, miners, and timber cutters. The converging of railroads upon the manufacturing centers of the Eastern and North Central areas tended to concentrate industry in these areas. The rest of the country became a vast hinterland furnishing a great variety of raw materials from its farms, mines, and forests. By 1900, there were 94,000 miles of railroad in the United States. Long before 1900, communication by telegraph was common throughout the country. Telephone communication was being extended, but the era of the telephone was yet to come.

II. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE, 1870-1900

INTRODUCTION

This section, together with the one immediately preceding, provides the setting for the two following chapters of the book. Whereas Section I was chiefly concerned with the economic and social changes taking place between 1870 and 1900, the present section will be concerned with the cultural atmosphere created by these changes. As the reader observes the new environment in both its material and spiritual aspects he may be expected to understand better the rapid growth of the democratic school system and the evolutionary changes in the educative process. There will be revealed to him at the same time the decline of foreign influence and the rise to dominance of American institutions.

At the beginning of this book the cultural heritage transplanted by the seventeenth-century colonists was analyzed and presented under six headings: the literary, the scientific, the aesthetic, the institutional, the industrial, and the religious. Mainly English in origin, this was pathetically meager except for the institutional and religious elements. During the eighteenth century the European heritage grew and an increasingly larger portion of it was brought to this country. This was particularly true in the literary and scientific categories. The French and German influence now came to be felt with increasing effect. But perhaps the factor that was to mean most in determining American character was the pioneer spirit. This was to provide the driving power for the economic and social advances in the nineteenth century.

Section I of this chapter also gave a fairly comprehensive account of the population trends and the social and economic changes in industry and living conditions that went hand in hand with these trends. Changes in cultural status were touched upon but not elaborated. Here, the heritage of culture needs to be further examined, considering both the factors that continued to come from abroad and the more significant contributions that were being made by native Americans. The relationship between culture and social and economic conditions should be kept in mind.

THE HERITAGE OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE

After the middle of the nineteenth century the heritage of English literature transmitted to this country was much more ample. The contemporary aspiration for a substantial substitute for the ancient classics had led to the development of courses in English belles-lettres in the female academies and to the introduction of similar courses in the less conservative higher institutions for men. The more scholarly minds turned to the contemplation of scientific treatises (see p. 300) and to the works of the liberal thinkers, chiefly John Stuart Mill, Carlyle, and Ruskin; to the novels of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and the Brontë sisters; and to the poems of Scott, Byron, Tennyson, and Browning. Later in the century, many readers kept abreast of the times with the works of Thomas Hardy, Marie Corelli, H. G. Wells, and the poems of Swinburne and Kipling.

Under the leadership of American tourists and scholars returning from study abroad came an acquaintance with the French narratives of Balzac, Dumas, Zola, and Maupassant. Those with a preference for German instead of French introduced this country to the great philosophers, and to Goethe, Heine, and Schiller. An acquaintance with Russia came through the works of Tolstoi and Turgenev, and of Spain chiefly through the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes.

A TREND IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

In the meantime, the writings of American-bred authors multiplied and acquired prestige among the more critical readers. A new school of authors came to take the place of the New England sentimentalists. Walt Whitman's poems had the savor of earth and the common man. The Western writers such as Edward Eggleston, Bret Harte, and Joaquin Miller pictured real life in a rough country without sparing sordid details. Equally significant was the vogue of dime novels in yellow paper backs, depicting life in the Western mining camps and on the cattle ranges. Of no particular literary merit, the hair-raising experiences described in these inexpensive offerings had a ring of truth. A broad reading public which cared nothing for romantic poetry and had no

time for the long stories of Scott and Dickens, turned to the dime novels for a thrill of adventure. From these it was an easy step to the better class of native writers headed by Mark Twain, whose works were universally acclaimed. New magazines, notably *Scribner's*, *Lippincott's*, the *Nation*, and the *Overland*, catering to the widespread interest in current politics and native fiction, came to compete with the older *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's*.

FAMILY LIBRARIES

With the acquisition of new wealth many families began to make private book collections. Some of the collections represented a sincere interest and others reflected merely the current vogue for the habiliments of culture. Volumes which found a place in homes of the well-to-do sixty years ago usually included the novels of Scott and Dickens, Marie Corelli, and Anthony Hope, Byron's poems, *Lalla Rookh*, Green's *A Short History of the English People*, and perhaps the essays of Macaulay, Herbert Spencer, or John Stuart Mill. American authors were represented in the works of Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, and, later, of Mark Twain. The children's shelves might contain the *St. Nicholas* magazine, the Henty and the Elsie books, *Alice in Wonderland*, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, and Kingsley's *Water Babies*.⁴ Such works characterized the old-fashioned family libraries of the later years of the nineteenth century, and still constitute the foundation of many of the more recent collections.

PUBLIC AND COLLEGE LIBRARIES

As late as 1870 the Library of Congress, which now contains about 8,000,000 volumes, had only 183,000, and there were only six libraries in the whole country having as many as 100,000 volumes.⁵ Philadelphia and Chicago were without free public libraries before 1868, but both cities received bequests for this purpose shortly after

⁴ Henry S. Canby, *The Age of Confidence: Life in the Nineties*, Rinehart and Company, Inc., New York, 1934, pp. 186-188.

⁵ Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, p. 243.

that date. The college and university libraries, particularly those of the East, furnished the best facilities for reading and research.

THE ADVANCE OF SCIENCE

American scientists of the mid-nineteenth century were often unschooled mechanics, blacksmiths, or other artisans, concerned chiefly with the application of scientific principles to practical affairs. The amazing extent of inventiveness is indicated in the fact that 13,947 patents were issued in 1880, a number that was almost doubled in 1900. Much of the effort was expended in developing time- and labor-saving devices and in the substitution of steam, gasoline, or electric power for manpower, horsepower or waterpower. English or German scientists did most of the research required for American inventions before the end of the century. While unquestionably there was more interest in applied than in pure science, the period is significant for the founding of scientific schools in several Eastern universities.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE

The romantic movement culminated in the formulation of the theory of evolution by the British scientists, Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer. The theory was a triumph for the constructive imagination in the field of the biological sciences. Its keynote is that all creation moves through the process of natural selection to some good end. The philosophy of evolution is, therefore, essentially that of optimism.

The theory found such able advocates in this country as Edward L. Youmans, John Fiske, Charles W. Eliot, and Andrew D. White, but its acceptance was by no means unanimous. Conservative theologians, interpreting the doctrine as contrary to the literal construction of the Bible, scathingly denounced it. For several years the scientists and theologians waged a bitter controversy over the question, but when this died down, the college leaders and intellectual laymen were virtually in agreement as to the truth of the theory. In the 1920's, after the high schools had brought evolution to the attention of the masses, the controversy was again revived (see p. 442).

THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENCE ON RELIGION

The doctrines of nineteenth-century science ran counter to the literal interpretation of the Bible. Certain theologians became the most caustic foes of science. For a time the differences on such matters as racial evolution seemed to be irreconcilable. In later times, some took a more liberal attitude and compromised, and others held out resolutely to the end. The issues were to cause a schism in the several Protestant churches where, among the leaders, two factions arose—the modernists and the fundamentalists.

MODERN REALISM

But science pervaded other realms of thought. Men came to be obsessed with a mania for truth in the materialistic sense of the word. They subjected traditional truths to the scrutiny of scientific examination. In making their experiments they assumed an air of detached aloofness from sentiment and personal preference. They looked cold facts in the face. In their quest for the mastery of the physical world they concentrated their attention so closely upon microscopic details that they sometimes lost their sense of perspective. Few men delved into the larger reality of pure science; many were concerned with the practical application of principles to machinery.

The Machine Age gave a new slant to philosophy. The later scientists, in many cases, took their mood from their work. They visualized themselves as a part of a giant machine of which the universe was the whole. They saw the power of the waterfall, but missed its beauty. They sensed the fertility of the soil without appreciating the landscape. They examined society and found it ugly, heartless, and sordid. They measured success in terms of practical accomplishments and monetary returns. They became cynical and pessimistic. In adopting this point of view they classified themselves as modern realists. The tone of realism, thus established, was to lend itself, as we shall see, to present-day literature, music, art, drama, and education. Romanticism passed into eclipse.

THE INSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE

The manners, morals, ideals, and standards of living prevalent in European countries were transplanted in this country by early colonial settlers with only such modifications as were made necessary by the conditions of the frontier. These were passed along to succeeding generations. The heritage was made more ample, as well as complex, by the flood of immigrants that poured into this country during the nineteenth century. Toward the end of the century, however, the influence of the native environment, including the social and economic changes outlined in the preceding section, began to have a marked effect upon traditional institutions.

The home was the chief medium through which the cultural heritage had been transmitted. It was among the first to feel the impact of the new forces (see p. 385). From the beginning it had been a social, economic, religious, and recreational unit. Here the children had been nurtured in the family traditions; here they had acquired their ideals and standards of living; here they were prepared for the simple, unspecialized occupations of livelihood. The nineteenth century home was memorialized in native songs, as in "Home Sweet Home," "My Old Cottage Home," "My Old Kentucky Home," "Home on the Range," "My Little Gray Home in the West," but before the end of that century the factory system was beginning to undermine it. The twentieth century was to witness a further deterioration.

PERSONAL CULTURE

A conspicuous characteristic of the institutional heritage was personal culture. It appeared in colonial America with the transplantation of the caste system and throughout the nineteenth century it persisted as a mark distinguishing the bearer from the lower orders of society. It was not a native product, but a composite of the habits, standards, and ideals that determined the mode of living of the upper and middle classes in British and Continental society. So definitely was personal culture ingrained by training into the character of these classes that taste, refinement of behavior, and good breeding were

thought to be hereditary. The association of culture with the fine arts and with the ancient classics during the early national period has already been commented on (see Chapter Twelve).

The Gilded Age, which came with the sudden wealth derived from exploitation of natural resources, was the target of native critics, sickened with the "slovenly reality beneath the gaudy exterior." Mark Twain was one among many who held the age up to ridicule. A later writer, agreeing with the critics, wrote:

There is reason in plenty for such caustic comment. Heedless, irreverent, unlovely, cultivating huge beards, shod in polished top-boots—the last refinement of the farmer's cowhides—wearing linen dickeys over hickory shirts, moving through pools of tobacco juice, erupting in shoddy and grotesque architecture, cluttering its homes with ungainly walnut chairs and marble-topped tables and heavy lambrequins, the decade of the seventies was only too plainly mired and floundering in a bog of bad taste. A world of triumphant and unabashed vulgarity without its like in our history, it was not aware of its plight, but accounted its manners genteel and boasted of ways that were a parody on sober good sense.⁶

Most of the immigrants who came in large numbers in the latter half of the nineteenth century were not familiar with the ways of the gentry, but when wealth and freedom from old-world restraints permitted them to rise to a higher social level, they began to take on the manners and behavior of the so-called better classes. With the advance of democracy there developed a widespread popular opinion that culture as well as wealth and political prominence were within the reach of all. People almost everywhere aspired to it either for themselves or for their children.

Long before the outbreak of World War I the quest for culture had reached the proportions of a national crusade. Chautauqua and lecture bureaus catered to the popular craving by sending lecturers, musicians, and artists into every town and village. Men of means, in the larger places, promoted symphonic concerts which they themselves

⁶ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, Vol. III, *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1930, 11-12.

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did not always understand or enjoy. Women's clubs provided an opportunity for a belated insight into Byron, Tennyson, or Browning. Country girls read etiquette books. Farm boys renounced the plow handles for courses in Latin and Greek. Although the masses were too frequently satisfied with a thin veneer of culture and only a few were beatified by the spirit, there seems to have been substantial progress up to about the time of World War I.

THE POPULARIZATION OF ART

Before the Civil War, art had been an exclusive interest of the upper classes. After the war there developed a decided trend toward bringing it within reach of the common people. Private collections of pictures were now thrown open to the public or else housed in accessible museums. The idea of improving the capacity for appreciation in the masses prompted the founding of the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, all of which came into existence at about the same time. Other important art institutions were established in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Chicago.

THE RISE OF NATIVE MUSIC

The better grade of music first reached the masses through commercial lyceum bureaus and chautauquas during the seventies. These organizations, for a consideration, arranged to furnish lectures and musical entertainments to the smaller communities throughout the country. For thirty or forty years they rendered a valuable service in the popularizing of music. Through this channel came the charming Gilbert and Sullivan operas and the offerings of vocal quartettes and orchestras.

Prosperity brought a zealous yearning for music. The sale of pianos during the eighties and nineties increased by leaps and bounds. Anxious mothers goaded their pale young daughters to practice, but the America of that period looked to Europe for its music and music masters. Symphony orchestras were organized in large cities, and Germany and Italy were levied upon for leaders. Soon, however, there were com-

petent native musicians and a few composers who imitated the European models. Native music, reflecting the spirit of the age, was evident in the unconventional compositions of Edward MacDowell, but his was a voice crying in the wilderness.

DRAMA IN TRANSITION

Drama turned realistic in the same way, and for the same reason, that art and literature did. The industrial era modified taste and enlarged the theatergoing public. The transition is observable in the change in scene, theme, and characters. The old rural story of the faultless hero who rescued the farmer's daughter from the mustachioed villain and saved the farm from foreclosure, gave way to one with an urban setting in which sophisticated characters were involved in the intrigues of love, politics, finance, or industry. Early in the new century the plays of Eugene O'Neill carried this realistic strain to an extreme of pessimism, disgust, and agony.⁷

RÉSUMÉ

Within the continental boundaries, the settlement of America was completed after 1870. The arable stretch of plains and mountains in the West was occupied. The pressure of population in the East and North, no longer relieved by the migration to the frontier, was being felt before the end of the century. The South, stripped of much of its manpower by the Civil War, suffered a further loss through migration to the North and West.

The social consequences of the distribution of population are significant. First, the nurture of the frontier produced a robust type of Americanism, democratic, aggressive, and optimistic, which tended to infect the whole country. Second, the congested areas of the East faced the problem of assimilating large numbers of foreign immigrants, representing various races and diverse cultures. Neither of these factors, however, affected the South which lay inert.

America's spiritual heritage, consisting of the literary, the scien-

⁷ Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, 779-780.

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tific, the aesthetic, the institutional, the industrial, and the religious—the six factors mentioned at the beginning of this book—increased enormously. Improved facilities for transportation and communication enabled this country to appropriate what it needed from foreign parts, chiefly the western European nations. The inventive genius of the American people, in the meantime, was free to express itself in every field, particularly in that of mechanics. The result was the accumulation of a cultural heritage of such vast proportions that it transcends the power of any individual to appropriate the whole of it. The significance of this point perplexed educators concerned with its transmission to future generations and led to the introduction of the elective system in the colleges.

As the century drew to the end, the drift toward realism, as a philosophy of life, came to be more and more pronounced. This was discernible in the increasing prevalence of the scientific attitude, affecting, as it did, religion, literature, art, music, drama, and the daily life of the people.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. What has been the contribution of the West to democracy?
2. Which new inventions had most influence upon the American way of life before 1900?
3. To what extent had the main lines of railroad been laid before 1900?
4. Cite evidence that romanticism, despite realistic tendencies, still survives.
5. To what extent is America still dependent upon European countries for the best achievements in science, literature, music, art, and fashions?

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Expansion and Stabilization of Schools

For obvious reasons, the Civil War tended to demoralize public education throughout the country. In the North the rapid progress in the development of state school systems which had marked the two previous decades was greatly retarded. In the South activity in this field was virtually suspended. The one outstanding event of the four-year period was the act of Congress relating to agricultural and mechanical education.

THE MORRILL ACT

For some years the congressmen from the Western states had been attempting to secure the passage of an act to aid agricultural education. Justin P. Morrill of Vermont succeeded in 1856 in getting a bill through Congress only to have it meet President Buchanan's veto. Six years later he submitted his bill with modifications a second time, pressed it through Congress, and in 1862 obtained the signature of President Lincoln. For each senator and representative a state had the Morrill Act made available to each of the states 30,000 acres of land, the proceeds of which were to be used for the establishment of a college of agricultural and mechanical arts. In spite of many difficulties of administration, the act gave a decided impulse to the teaching of agriculture. Passed during the unsettled period of the Civil War it was nearly twenty years before it went into effect in all the states. Even then, many of the new institu-

tions hardly knew how to go about teaching a subject as hazily defined and vaguely organized as agriculture. In the course of twenty-five years, however, several scientifically trained leaders succeeded in classifying and testing the data which have since served as the foundation of the present courses.

In some of the states, notably Illinois, Louisiana, and Wisconsin, the new colleges were established in connection with the state universities. In most states, however, they were established separately and are now known as the "state" colleges. The services which these institutions were equipped to provide were those particularly in demand by the farming population. Most of them in consequence grew rapidly and greatly promoted the intelligent pursuit of agriculture and related subjects. The contribution of the land-grant colleges to public education deserves greater space than can be given to it in this volume.

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE ON UNIVERSITIES

From the seventies until the second decade of the present century there were every year several hundred American students enrolled in German universities.¹ Indeed, it was the highest aspiration of that generation of scholars to cap off their education with graduate study in Germany. The influence of returning students, which had been felt in the University of Michigan even before the Civil War, was now to revolutionize the practice of higher institutions in this country.

In 1876, Johns Hopkins University was founded at Baltimore. This was the first American university in the present sense of the word. Under the direction of President Daniel Coit Gilman, Johns Hopkins superimposed the German university course leading to the Ph. D. degree upon the traditional four-year course of the American college. The German objective of research became the purpose of the new institution. The lecture system and seminars were introduced. With the cooperation of its president and a group of able professors Johns Hopkins speedily became the outstanding center for graduate and professional education in the United States. Within twenty years this institution was providing

¹ John A. Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*, Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Philadelphia, 1936, p. 52.

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advanced training for a large percentage of American-bred college professors. It also took the lead in medical education, in 1893 requiring the bachelor's degree as a prerequisite for admission to its medical school.

In the eighties G. Stanley Hall (1846–1924) planned to shape the foundation of Clark University even more nearly on the German model than Gilman had built Johns Hopkins. Although hampered by limited finances, as president of the new institution Hall committed it to a career of research, particularly in the field of child study, which was his special interest. Hall's technique for the study of children for a time became immensely popular. His students compiled volumes of information gleaned from the observation, measurement, and the questioning of children. He published the results of his own study in the *Pedagogical Seminary*, which he founded, and in the monumental two-volume treatise entitled *Adolescence; Its Psychology and Its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*. The methods of research which he employed in child study have since been discredited, but the impetus which he gave to investigation in this field carried over into the next century.

Harvard, Yale, and other higher institutions of learning caught the pace for advanced study set by Johns Hopkins. Between 1875 and the close of the century, the term "university" came to mean a group of colleges offering graduate and professional courses as well as undergraduate courses in liberal arts. By 1900, when the Association of American Universities was organized, there were fourteen institutions that met the rather exacting requirements for membership. The privately supported colleges began amassing large endowment funds and the state universities secured more ample appropriations from the legislatures. Among others two important new institutions destined to reach the highest rank were founded—Leland Stanford University (1891) in California and the University of Chicago (1892).

The larger endowed institutions of the East soon offered graduate instruction on a par with that of Johns Hopkins. Under the leadership of such enthusiasts for science as Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard and Dr. Andrew D. White of Cornell ample facilities for scientific research were provided in these and in several other higher institutions. The two-year medical course at the University of Michigan was increased to three years in 1880 and to four in 1890. Between 1870 and 1900 the

average enrollment in the law schools of the country doubled every ten years; Columbia as early as 1890 was providing for an enrollment of 625. These facts reflect a growing demand for education in its upper reaches.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Between 1870 and 1890 over 50 new state normal schools were established, bringing the total to 92 by the latter date. This rapid growth of facilities for the training of teachers is indicative of an increasing demand for a better teaching personnel. But the normal schools were, as a rule, meagerly financed and poorly equipped. The academic standards were on a par with those of contemporary high schools. Only a few city training schools in 1890 required graduation from high school as a prerequisite for admission.²

Some progress was being made in professional training. The relationship of the study of psychology to that of education was being established. The older courses in theory and practice were elaborated and such courses as history of education and class room management were introduced. W. H. Payne's *School Supervision* (1875) met the demand for a textbook in this field. Normal school courses were for the most part "sketchy" and ineffective. The professors drew freely upon their practical experience for the data of instruction.³ Nevertheless, the new theories of Froebel and Herbart reached the schools largely through this channel.

The colleges and state universities were now contributing more substantially to the training of teachers. A number of them, including such well-known institutions as Wesleyan, Brown, Antioch, and the universities of Iowa and Wisconsin, had established normal departments before the Civil War. After the war, the growing demand for high school teachers prompted numerous other higher institutions to set up departments of pedagogy. For some time these departments were of subcollege rank, but under the leadership of the University of Michigan and other Middle Western state universities, their standards were gradually raised to the college level. These institutions left the training of elementary

² *National Survey of the Education of Teachers*, United States Office of Education, Vol. V, Chap. III, Bulletin No. 10, 1933.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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teachers to the normal schools, and, for the most part, concentrated their efforts on the training of high school teachers.

NEW MID-CENTURY HIGH SCHOOLS

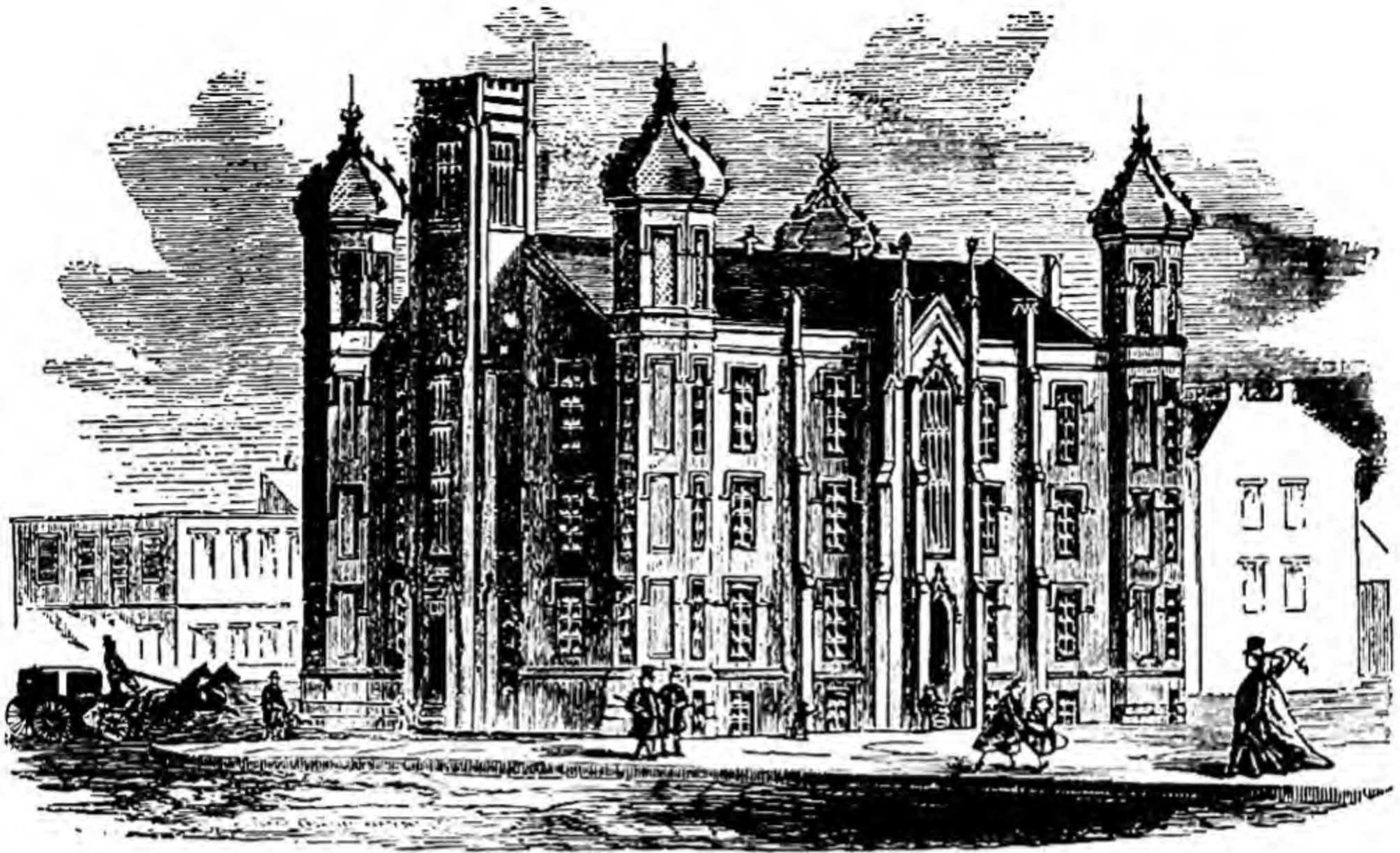
Probably as many as 500 high schools, most of them in the North Central states, were established between 1860 and 1880. Cities of the West organized high schools as soon as the need arose. By the latter date there were in operation throughout the country some 800 or more. The publicly controlled high school was by this time asserting its superiority over the privately controlled academy. Although the curriculums of the two types of secondary school presented only minor differences, the sentiment of the times favored the development of the free, day high school.

THE KALAMAZOO DECISION

Most of the mid-century high schools outside of Massachusetts and New York sprang up without specific legislative authority. Cities and towns established them under laws providing for common schools. The practice came to be questioned shortly after the Civil War. In several states the matter was taken into the courts. The best-known instance is that of the Kalamazoo Case. In 1872, when the city of Kalamazoo, Michigan, undertook to appropriate public school funds for the operation of a high school, one citizen challenged the right of the city to raise money by taxation for purposes other than the maintenance of elementary schools. The case was taken to the state supreme court, which ruled that the constitution did not specify that all free schools should be of elementary grade. This decision and others of the same period established the right of the state and local governments to levy taxes for high school purposes. The way was thus paved for the upward extension of public education.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COURSE OF STUDY

In 1875 the National Education Association attacked the problem of providing a unified course of study from the primary school to the



Public High School, St. Louis, Missouri, 1872

university. Dr. William T. Harris was appointed chairman of a committee to study and report upon the matter. In its report the following year the committee stated that the outstanding problem of secondary education was that of articulation with the college, on the one hand, and preparing pupils for the immediate duties of life, on the other. The difficulty was described as follows:

In the course of study in the public high schools, we find Latin and Greek, French and German, algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, physical geography, physiology, universal history, English literature and rhetorical work. But a preparation for college usually omits all except Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Hence the public high school is obliged to provide for a classical course and a general course, if it would continue the common school course, and, at the same time, prepare its pupils for college. The influence of higher education upon the lower is to force the latter to drop its collateral and information-giving studies.⁴

⁴ *Proceedings of the National Education Association* (1876), p. 62.

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So stated the problem was one that had vexed the high schools ever since the parallel English and classical courses had been inaugurated almost half a century earlier. The high schools thus found themselves between two fires—the colleges with their uncompromising demand for preparation in the classical studies, and the general public, footing the bill and insisting upon subjects of practical utility.

The report is not particularly significant in the evolution of the high school. In educational history, however, it was the first of a series of large-scale attempts to solve the problem of articulating the curriculums of secondary and higher institutions. Later in this chapter we shall observe the proposed solutions of the Committee of Ten and succeeding national committees.

THE INFLUENCE OF COLLEGE ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

In colonial days and long afterward prospective students applied on their own responsibility for admission to the colleges. Each college had its own requirements (which, however, differed little from those of its contemporaries) and held its own entrance examinations. If an applicant were able to pass the examination, it mattered little to the college authorities whether he had received his knowledge from a reputable Latin school, an academy, or a private tutor; nor did it matter whether he had taken three, four, five, or six years to acquire it. There was much overlapping of college and secondary courses during the early national period, and students were often admitted to advanced standing if examination proved that they had mastered a certain portion of college work in the secondary school.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the entrance examination was confined almost exclusively to Latin and Greek. From this time forward the list of subjects accepted or required has become longer and longer. "Common arithmetic" first appeared on the list in 1745; English grammar, in 1795; geography, in 1807; algebra, in 1820; Greek and Roman history, in 1841; geometry, in 1856; American history, in 1870; physical geography, in 1870; French and German, in 1875. Since then the requirements in English and the natural sciences have been greatly elaborated, and such subjects as drawing, music, and the commercial and industrial subjects have been recognized. It goes without

saying that a corresponding course on the collegiate level had to be developed before an entrance requirement could be fixed for any particular subject.

In recent times, more specifically since the issuance of the first report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements in 1899, and since the organization of the several accrediting agencies, the college has assumed the role of patron of secondary education. By stating in detail the items required for admission, it has more or less definitely undertaken to determine the character of the preparatory work to be done on the lower level. In this way it has hoped to improve the quality of secondary instruction and at the same time to place its own courses upon a higher plane.

Through the joint efforts of the schools and the colleges entrance requirements have become progressively higher. Before 1870 only in the classics and mathematics were standards equal to those of the present maintained. The requirements in arithmetic, English grammar, geography, and United States history, up to the time of the Civil War, were hardly equal to the present requirement for admission to the tenth grade, or the first year of the senior high school.

Many of the subjects now found in the upper years of the high school were first organized as teaching units in the colleges. In this class fall the upper years of the high school English course, the science courses, economics, sociology, agriculture, home economics, and a number of other subjects. These subjects were, in most instances, handed down from above with little or no modification. The abstract logical organization, long characteristic of the college subjects, has thus been foisted upon the high schools.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN

The introduction of new subjects was so rapid during the later years of the nineteenth century that the curriculum became overcrowded. Dissatisfaction was expressed in articles appearing in educational periodicals during the eighties. The writer of one of these listed what he called the English studies in a typical high school of that period: algebra, geometry, physiology, botany, physical geography, geology, zoology, chemistry, physics, general history, astronomy, mental

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and moral philosophy, rhetoric, English literature, political economy, and evidences of Christianity.

Most of these are pursued two terms,—some only one,—a very few for a year; the scholar in each case having three studies at a time. Now the high schools, whose courses of study are thus loaded down, are usually conducted by two or at most by three teachers; and all this instruction, to say nothing of the college preparatory work, is conducted by those who must “hear” six or eight recitations daily.⁵

The same writer concluded that it was impossible under such conditions for the student to get even a comprehensive view of the several subjects and urged that the number of studies be decreased and that more time be devoted to each.

This critical state of affairs prompted the National Council of Education to appoint the now famous Committee of Ten to recommend a plan for systematizing and improving the work of secondary schools. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, this committee prepared an elaborate report which it submitted to the council in 1893.

The committee formulated four courses, the Classical, the Latin-Scientific, the Modern Language, and the English, as models for secondary schools. These courses, as outlined, provided for instruction in English, foreign languages, ancient and modern, natural sciences, history, and mathematics. Two characteristics of the courses are worthy of mention: (1) the emphasis placed on foreign languages, especially Latin; and (2) the large number of sciences included in the courses. In every course, except one, a third of the time was allotted to foreign language study and, in three of them, provision was made for instruction in eight sciences. The report made no specific provision for physical education, the fine arts, or for any of the vocational subjects.

Two fundamental principles, set forth by the committee, also deserve attention. (1) It disapproved of short courses and recommended that every subject be taught for a period sufficiently long to insure real

⁵ W. P. Beckwith, “The Public and the High School,” *Education*, VII (1886), 115.

benefit to the pupil. (2) The committee recommended that the student who was going immediately into a vocation be given the same thorough instruction as the one who expected to enter college.

The report was not greeted with unanimous approval. Objections were raised on many grounds, but chiefly because of the emphasis which the committee placed upon the foreign languages, particularly Latin, and because of the comparatively small amount of time which it allotted to the sciences. Few schools enacted reforms in accordance with its provisions. The committee's recommendations, however, established a foundation of theory of vast import to the future. The report stands as the first of a series of notable committee reports which have determined the trend of secondary education in recent times.

NATIONAL STANDARDS FOR COLLEGE ENTRANCE

The diversity of college entrance requirements and the competition for students among higher institutions now called for attention. In view of the influence of entrance requirements upon secondary curriculums, the matter was of grave concern to institutions on the lower level. The Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1899) undertook to clarify the situation.

The most important achievement of this committee was the establishment of uniform standards, or units of work, in all the important high school subjects. It also specified the subjects and the number of units in each that would be required or accepted for college entrance. It advised that high schools offer fewer sciences and devote more time to those that were offered. It recognized the principle of election of studies but recommended that certain studies be required of all students. The influence of this committee's report upon high school studies is still being felt, for it led to the standardization of subjects and courses now familiar in the four-year high school of the conventional type.

CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1870

By 1870 most of the larger cities had instituted systems of schools. These were usually administered by a superintendent responsible to a school committee composed of from eight to more than twenty mem-

bers. The typical system embraced numerous small primary, intermediate, grammar, and high schools, each under a separate principal. The size of the schools in the respective cities may be gauged by the fact that St. Paul in 1869 enrolled 2,042 children—less than 50 per cent of the children of school age (5–21)—in twenty different schools; Sacramento (1867) had fifteen schools of all grades to care for 1,300 out of an enrollment of 1,700 children. City schools by this time were turning to women teachers. Out of 97 teachers in Worcester, only 4 were men, and but 5 out of 26 in St. Paul were men. The average salary of teachers ranged from less than \$400 for primary teachers to more than \$1,000 for high school teachers. The city schools of which these conditions were typical were without question among the best to be found in the country at that time.⁶

SCHOOLS IN THE MIDDLE WEST, ABOUT 1870

School facilities of some sort were available not only to the children of the larger cities and towns of the East but also to those living in the remote and scattered settlements of the vast inland empire. Spores of the district school spread westward from New England and germinated in every neighborhood having a dozen or more children. In spite of its manifest deficiencies the district school had by 1880 reduced the percentage of native white illiteracy in certain Western and North Central states to the low level—less than 5 per cent—of the North Eastern division.⁷ This record, made so soon after the settlement of these states, is greatly to the credit of the plain people there, valiantly struggling to establish themselves in new homes.

From the point of view of the present, however, the schools of the day furnished a sorry picture. Schoolhouses were small and shamefully crude, being built of materials that came readiest to hand. In the wooded districts log schoolhouses were at first the usual thing. Indiana had over a thousand such structures in 1865, and in Illinois, five years later, one out of every eight buildings was of logs. In the prairie dis-

⁶ The data for this paragraph have been compiled from reports of city school systems to be found in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, Vol. XIX (1870).

⁷ Henry Gannett, *The Building of a Nation*, H. T. Thomas Company, New York, 1895, p. 128.

tricts of Kansas and Iowa, where timber was scarce, frame shanties were set up and there were a few brick and stone houses in the larger communities. By far the great majority of the buildings in the states of this area were built for one-teacher schools. In fact, there were few large buildings even in the important towns. In St. Louis, for instance, the average number of rooms per school was only seven.

Schools were small and poorly attended. The average number of children belonging to a school district in Indiana (1868-1876) was about fifty-three and the average attendance was only thirty-four. In Iowa, 8,000 schools employed 14,600 teachers and in Kansas, 4,600 schools employed 5,500—facts which indicate that the vast majority were taught by one teacher. In few states did the average daily attendance rise above 75 per cent of the enrollment. Terms were short and salaries low. During the seventies, Indiana increased the school term from 87 to 129 days, but it was late in the eighties before Missouri attained a six-month term. Iowa and Illinois, about the same time, were operating their schools for six or seven months in the year. In all the states of this area women were rapidly replacing men as teachers. By 1870 more than half the teachers were women. The average salary was less than \$30 a month, whereas men teachers were commanding about \$5 more a month.

Standards of schoolwork were low. Only 641 of the 11,000 schools in Illinois, and only 289 of the 8,000 schools in Iowa, had been graded. In Missouri, the state superintendent, as late as 1879, deplored the fact that fewer than one hundred cities and towns, an "almost infinitesimal part of the whole school system," as he said, were undertaking to provide a graded course and that not over thirty were offering a high school course. In the common schools instruction seldom went beyond the fundamentals. Sentiment favoring secondary education at public expense, however, was rising and the Kalamazoo Decision in 1872 was but one of a number of court decrees that confirmed the right of local communities to appropriate public funds to this purpose.⁸

⁸ The data for this paragraph and the preceding three paragraphs have been derived from statistics compiled by the departments of education of the states mentioned, particularly the following: *Eighth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, 1869-1870*, pp. 2-3; *Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Iowa, 1870-1871*;

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There was a growing desire for higher education. Sectarian colleges sprang up like mushrooms in the West but, to a greater extent than in the East, the people preferred the publicly supported institutions. The state universities and the land-grant colleges, the latter established under the provisions of the Morrill Act, early opened their doors to both sexes. Because of meager advantages for preparation in the lower schools, the standards were necessarily low. James Bryce, an astute observer whose judgment was always fair, says that the teaching was hardly above secondary grade and "apt to be superficial and flimsy, giving the appearance without the solid reality of knowledge."⁹ Bryce's criticism, however, should not be construed to the disparagement of the higher institutions then serving a rural society largely dependent upon academies and district schools for college preparation.

PROGRESS OF A GENERATION

During the thirty-year period between 1870 and 1900 the states of the upper Mississippi Valley made slow but steady progress in extending opportunities for schooling to the rural masses. School terms were lengthened from about six to seven or eight months of the year. Teachers' salaries in most states rose above the forty-dollar mark. High schools were established in the larger places.

On the whole, however, school conditions reflect an era of hard times for the farming states. The district school with its attendant ills still held sway. The majority of schools were still being taught by one teacher. Grading progressed slowly. In Iowa as late as 1900 two out of three schools were ungraded and conditions were probably no better in this than in neighboring states. Compulsory attendance laws proved ineffective. Men teachers became scarcer and the women available were mostly untrained "young girls, just out of school, many of them not having completed even a common school course," as one state superintendent said.

Twenty-fourth Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Indiana, 1875-1876, p. 53; Twenty-ninth Report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri, 1879, p. 17.

⁹ James Bryce, "America Revisited—Changes of a Quarter Century," *The Outlook* (March 25, 1905), p. 736.

BEGINNINGS IN THE PACIFIC AND MOUNTAIN STATES

Private mission schools, as a rule, preceded public schools in the Pacific and Mountain states. The Catholic teaching orders were active in California and the Southwest from an early date, and after 1830 or so the Protestant denominations established mission schools in the Oregon Territory. These, however, did not long have the field to themselves, for provisions for public schools appeared in the earliest territorial statutes of all the states. It is significant that several states promptly took action to prevent the diversion of public funds to private institutions.

Most of the settlers in the new country were fresh from states where the public school crusade had been successfully waged and they were thoroughly imbued with the idea. Moreover, the conditions of frontier life were conducive to neighborhood cooperation in community activities, a fact which rendered the establishment of common schools a logical consequence. It is not surprising, therefore, to find public schools in the pioneer settlements almost from the beginning. Nor is it surprising that the settlers adopted the type of school organization with which they were familiar in their home states. Thus, the Iowa school law furnished a model for Oregon; Colorado copied Illinois, and Utah followed New York.

The familiar school practices of the East and Middle West cropped out in these faraway territories. The district school appeared almost everywhere. State superintendents were provided for even before the territories attained statehood. School funds were established. Rate bills were employed for some years in both California and Oregon. Such instances as these are examples of the dependency of the West upon the East.

The self-assertive Westerners, however, did not bind themselves to continue following Eastern precedent. Having accepted the public school idea as good, they ventured to advance it with progressive measures. California, Oregon, and Wyoming supplemented the state distribution and the district levies with county taxes. Nevada passed a compulsory attendance law in 1873 and Colorado followed with a similar act in 1876. California printed its own textbooks as early as 1884 and

Wyoming furnished free texts in 1899. Colorado elected a woman to the state superintendency in 1894 and several other states, following this example, elevated women to this high office. These measures did not in every case break precedents, but all represent the vanguard of progressive practice.

EDUCATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH

Upon the cessation of hostilities the former slave states were authorized by the President to establish provisional governments preparatory to re-entering the union. These new governments, representing the white population lately in insurrection, were interested chiefly in removing the ante-bellum restrictions upon the citizenship of the Negroes. Among the state laws that had to be repealed were, of course, those that forbade the education of slaves. Several of the states, notably Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, and Texas, went further and passed legislation looking toward the maintenance of schools for both races.¹⁰

The best element in Southern citizenry was quick to realize in the passage of the Negroes from slavery to freedom, the necessity of educating them to fit into the new social fabric. Although many seriously doubted their ability to profit from schooling beyond certain limits, there seems to have been a fairly general disposition among Southern white people to provide schools for Negroes. This point of view was well expressed by Governor Humphreys of Mississippi in his inaugural statement in 1865. He said: "The highest degree of elevation in the scale of civilization to which they are capable, morally and intellectually, must be secured to them by their education and religious training." The provisional governments of this and other states, however, did not last long enough for one to be sure that the sentiment would have stood the test of taxation for the support of the schools needed for this purpose.

The Congressional plan of reconstruction, which went into effect in 1868, established a new alignment of interests destined to have a marked effect upon education. Southern white men who had voluntarily

¹⁰ Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1922, pp. 313-316.

fought against the union were disfranchised and the freedmen were admitted to suffrage. This action turned the state governments over to the Negroes, Southern scalawags, and recent immigrants—carpet-baggers—from the North. The public school laws passed between 1867 and the end of the Reconstruction Period in 1876 represent the opinion of this political combination.

A SECOND CRUSADE FOR EDUCATION

The reader is here asked to recall the mild reaction of the Southern states to the crusade for public education which swept the North and East twenty-five years earlier. The South was now to experience a second visitation of Northern zealotry, this time in behalf of the relief and education of the Negroes. The New England virus was still potent. During the later years of the war it prompted the activities of numerous freedmen's aid societies which followed in the wake of the invading armies. These organizations, representing the several Northern churches and certain interdenominational interests, continued to be active throughout the Reconstruction Period. During this space of time they sent out several thousand workers, mostly teachers, and gave instruction to half a million pupils.¹¹ They promoted the establishment of numerous private schools and colleges among which Fisk University, founded in 1866, Hampton Institute (1868), and Atlanta University (1869), are prominent examples that have continued to the present.

To coordinate the activities of these societies and to carry forward a more extensive program of education and relief the federal government organized the Freedman's Bureau. During the six years (1866–1871) of its existence the Bureau spent over \$5,000,000 for school purposes, and established over 2,500 schools, enrolling about 150,000 pupils. Day, night, and Sunday school were maintained, and the Negroes, old as well as young, were taught the three R's, morals, and personal decency.¹²

Solicitude for the freedmen brought into the South a considerable number of Northern men and women who remained for economic as

¹¹ *Negro Education*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 38, Vol. I, pp. 293–294, 1917.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 289.

well as humanitarian motives. To many of these the door of political opportunity opened in 1868 when Congress deprived the old Southern leaders of the right to vote and hold office. The newcomers aligned themselves with the carpetbag faction and by virtue of superior intelligence rose to leadership. They asserted themselves particularly in the framing of new legislative measures for the establishment of public schools in which the Negroes should have a place. At least four of them were speedily elevated to state superintendencies. The Reverend John Eaton from New Hampshire, a United States Army chaplain whom General Grant had placed in charge of freedmen's relief, became state superintendent of Tennessee in 1867.¹³ J. K. Jillson of Massachusetts, identified with the Freedman's Bureau in South Carolina, became superintendent in that state. The Reverend S. S. Ashley of Massachusetts about the same time became state superintendent of North Carolina, and a former agent of the bureau, Henry R. Pease of Connecticut, rose to the same office in Mississippi. Eaton and Pease were particularly able in administrative capacities. These men and others of their kind formed the spearhead of a second crusade for public education launched in the North. As before, an enlightened privileged group now undertook to elevate the masses through public and private philanthropy.

It was inevitable that the movement should meet with disappointment. To begin with, the expectation that reform through literacy alone would immediately overcome the hereditary and environmental limitations of the Negro race was hardly to be justified. Moreover, the co-operation of the better class of Southern whites, so necessary in such an enterprise, was not forthcoming because of alien leadership and a misunderstanding of the motive. Finally, the crusaders failed to comprehend the desperate economic straits into which the South had fallen or to appreciate the hardships incurred by tax levies for school purposes. For these reasons the movement made little headway.

Viewed from another angle, the efforts of the reformers, working through the carpetbag governments, substantially advanced the cause of public education in the South. In every state, public schools for Ne-

¹³ General Eaton succeeded Henry Barnard as United States Commissioner of Education in 1871.

groes were actually opened. In every state free schools were attended by white children without the taint of pauperism and definite school terms were prescribed by law. These forward steps which the carpetbaggers accomplished with a wrench might have been delayed for years if they had had to wait on the will of native legislatures. But having once broken with tradition, the Southerners on their return to power in 1876 were ready to continue (with curtailed revenues) the reforms initiated by the carpetbaggers. Professor Knight has shown that the Reconstruction governments added little to the machinery of school organization.¹⁴ This is quite true, but they did set the ante-bellum machinery in motion.

THE PEABODY FUND

During the forty-year depression which settled over the South, the states which had formerly constituted the Confederacy, with the addition of West Virginia, received substantial benefits from the Peabody Fund. This fund, established by George Peabody of Massachusetts in 1867, in time amounted to \$3,500,000. Mr. Peabody instructed the trustees who were to administer the fund to distribute it for the education of whites and Negroes in the war-ravaged area. He made the provisions of the trust elastic enough to permit the trustees to dispose of the money according to needs. In the earlier years the trustees contributed toward the establishment of white or Negro schools in cities and towns, assisted the states in setting up school systems, paid the salaries of rural school supervisors, and financed teachers' institutes. In 1875, they founded the normal school at Nashville which was later to become the George Peabody College for Teachers. They also made a liberal provision for scholarships available to Southern teachers wishing to study there. In 1909, the trustees distributed the fund, giving Peabody College an endowment of \$1,500,000. The wise administration of the trust gave the South substantial benefits in a time of great need.

¹⁴ Edgar W. Knight, *The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South*, Contributions to Education No. 60, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1913.

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS, 1876-1900

The ruined state governments were returned to Southern rule (1876) in a state of economic demoralization from which they did not emerge for a quarter of a century. The foremost historian of the schools for this section thus describes the conditions of the period:

The greatest need of the period was more money for schools, and this need continued to be more or less acute until the recent past. Prior to 1900 the economic wealth of the South was not large. Very little accumulated property had been left by the war and that little had been wasted during reconstruction, and during the larger part of the quarter century which followed material development was not rapid. Public finances were in a perilous condition, the state treasuries were depleted, and credit abroad had not been thoroughly established. Agriculture was the principle occupation, and each crop was generally made by a mortgage on itself. Everywhere there was widespread economic depression. The valuation of property was low, and standards of value varied widely in the various States and often in the counties of the same State. In some States the value of realty decreased during the first and second decades following the close of reconstruction, and personal property increased but slightly. The South was burdened with enormous debts which called for heavy interest payments. Moreover, unsound taxing systems inherited from reconstruction hampered state support of schools, and possible sources of local school support were often so hindered or entirely cut off by constitutional restrictions as to be ineffective. The reorganized permanent public-school funds of antebellum days were practically fruitless and remained so during the larger part of the quarter century.¹⁵

The resources of these impoverished states could hardly have borne the burden of supporting a common school system such as that maintained in the states of the North and West. The burden was made heavier by the necessity of providing separate schools for the Negroes.

¹⁵ Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in the South*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1922, pp. 416-417.

Expansion and Stabilization of Schools

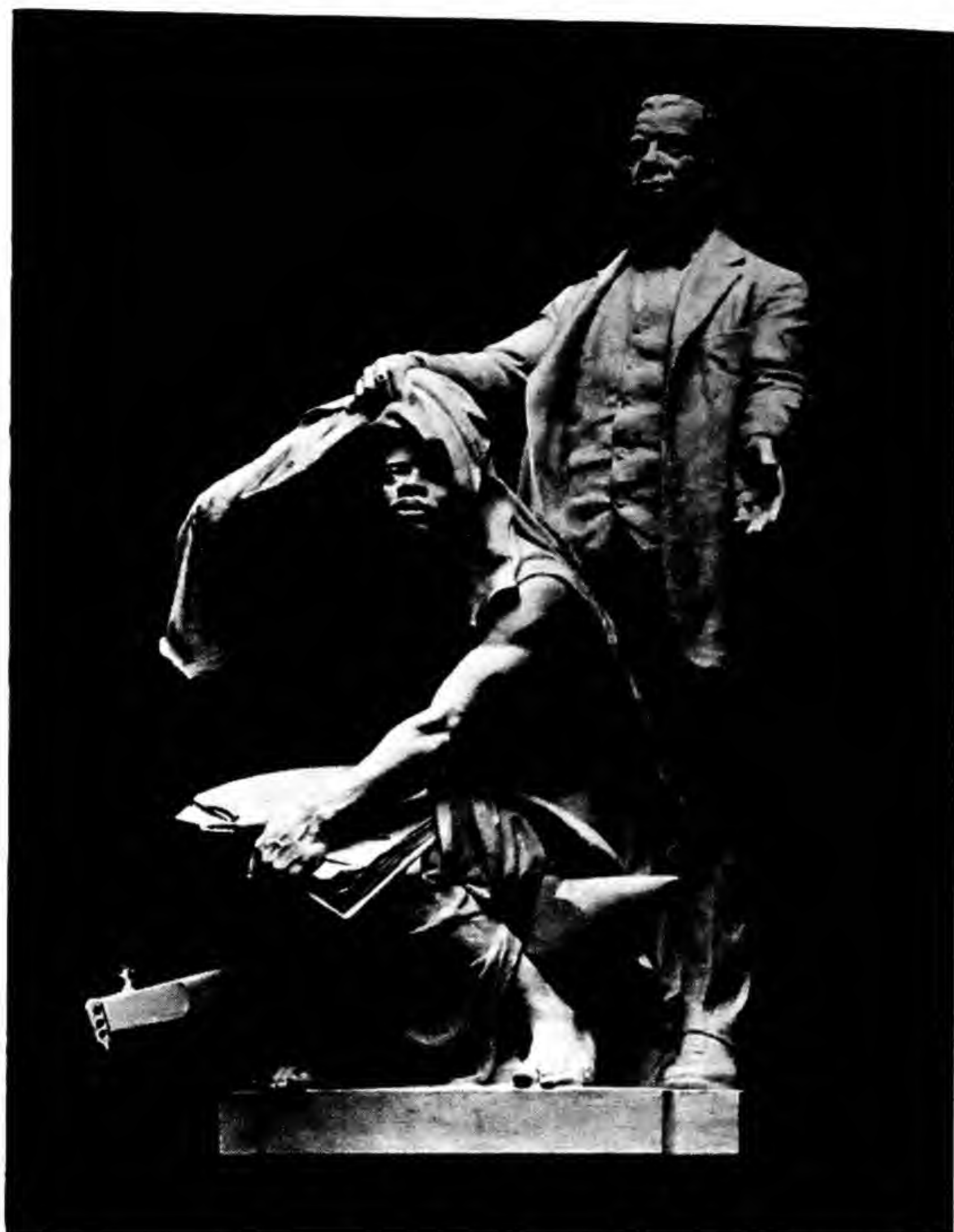
Even the Reconstruction governments had been forced to admit the expediency of separate schools, and regardless of cost, the new governments were determined to carry forward the policy. As a consequence, both white and Negro schools were miserably poor. As late as 1900, the average annual salary of teachers in the South was \$159 as compared with \$310 for the country as a whole. The average school term in that year was less than one hundred days, or a third less than that for the average for the whole country. District schools were left to depend largely upon their own revenues with the resulting inefficiency of administration and inequality of opportunity. No one respected the wretched public institutions: the well-to-do patronized private schools and the poor refused to attend them. The authority previously quoted has summarized the situation at the close of the period as follows:

Less than 60 per cent of the school population was enrolled and less than 40 per cent was in daily attendance. No Southern State had provided compulsory school-attendance legislation before 1900, though interest in the enactment of such laws was gradually revealing itself here and there. Only one pupil out of ten of those enrolled reached the fifth grade and only one in seventy reached the eighth grade. The burden of illiteracy in the various States was heavy. It ranged from 30 to 45 per cent of the total population, and the percentage of illiteracy among the white population was three times the average for the United States.¹⁶

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

Poor as the white public schools were, during this period, the Negro schools were poorer still. With ignorant teachers, short terms, and dilapidated buildings, there was no incentive for attendance. There were practically no public facilities for secondary or higher education outside of the land-grant colleges. For advanced instruction the Negro race was dependent almost entirely upon the private schools supported by Northern philanthropy. Many of the institutions founded by the churches and the freedmen's aid societies survived and others were

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 420.



Bettmann Archive

Monument of Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute. Sculpture by Charles Keck.

later established. The United States Commissioner in 1897 reported 170 private schools located in the South, but it is safe to say that his list was incomplete for the Phelps-Stokes study in 1916 discovered 655 such institutions in the United States with an enrollment of 83,679. Of these institutions, 266 were listed as "large or important." An examination of the enrollment in the 655 schools reveals the fact that 70,654 pupils were classified as elementary; 11,500, as secondary; and less than 1,600, as college and professional students. For sixty years, the leaders of the race were educated largely in these institutions.

The private schools for Negroes contributed a principle of education that has since influenced the trend of education in schools for all races throughout the nation. This is the principle of industrial training, first practically applied by General S. C. Armstrong, in the Hampton Institute, just prior to 1870. Armstrong, in search of a form of education suited to the needs of the backward people with whom he worked, turned to the plan of the manual labor schools which had thrived briefly earlier in the century. Not satisfied to have his pupils merely learn a trade or work on the farm to defray a part of their school expenses, he saw the moral and intellectual possibilities in such training. In 1870 he wrote:

In all men, education is conditional not alone on an enlightened head and a changed heart but very largely on a routine of industrious habits, which is to character what the foundation is to a pyramid.

Armstrong seems to have had a clearer understanding of the social situation which confronted him than most of his contemporaries. He grasped the significance of adapting instruction to the needs of an agricultural people. The types of industrial education which he offered took into consideration the Negro's limitations and provided the experience which the race as a whole required.¹⁷

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

A Hampton graduate, Booker T. Washington, did more than anyone else to propagate the idea which General Armstrong had worked out. Washington, in 1881, founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama upon the Hampton plan. Through the courses which he organized at Tuskegee and the lectures which he delivered throughout the North and the South, Washington propagated the doctrine of social regeneration by means of industrial training. His persuasiveness made friends for the Negro everywhere. Northern philanthropists gave him ample funds to develop Tuskegee into one of the best-equipped institutions of its kind. His doctrine appealed to Southern white men and led many

¹⁷ Isaac L. Kandel, *Twenty-five Years of American Education*, The Macmillan Company, New York, Chap. XV, "The Education of the Negro," by Stuart G. Noble.

to take a more sympathetic view of the education of the Negro. By 1900 private institutions for the Negro race throughout the South were following Tuskegee's example in offering industrial training.

THE KINDERGARTEN MOVEMENT

From about 1860 to the end of the century German theory and practice exercised a profound influence upon education in America. Other waves of influence were to follow the waning Pestalozzian movement. German-American immigrants, American scholars returning from study in German universities, and professional educators of the type of William T. Harris and Francis W. Parker kept communication alive between the two countries. As early as 1851, Johannes Kraus, himself a pupil of Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), founder of the kindergarten, was propagating the idea in this country. Before the end of the decade, Mrs. Carl Schurz established the first kindergarten in America at Watertown, Wisconsin.¹⁸ Mrs. Schurz interested the sister of Mrs. Horace Mann, Elizabeth Peabody of Boston, in this work, and Miss Peabody later went to study kindergarten methods at their source in Germany. Miss Peabody established a private kindergarten in Boston and spent the remainder of her life lecturing and writing on the subject. Private kindergartens were promoted by philanthropic organizations in many large cities. Among American educators who were early convinced of the validity of the new principle was Superintendent William T. Harris, who established the first public kindergarten as a unit of the city schools of St. Louis. By the end of the century there were about 1,400 public kindergartens enrolling over 95,000 pupils, and more than twice this number of private institutions.¹⁹

In his theory of the kindergarten, Froebel, although a pupil of Pestalozzi, harked back to Rousseau. He visualized children growing like plants in the congenial environment of the garden (*kinder*, German for children and *garten*, garden) and undertook to devise a form of teaching in which the children would be educated through their

¹⁸ John A. Walz, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.

¹⁹ Nicholas Murray Butler, *Education in the United States*, The American Book Company, New York, 1900, chapter on "Kindergarten Education" by Susan Blow, pp. 41-42.

own spontaneous activities. Unlike Rousseau, however, he held that they should receive social experience early in life. Accordingly he planned the kindergarten as a miniature society in which the children should be socialized through participating wholeheartedly in group plays and games. For the paraphernalia of the kindergarten he provided soft balls, spheres, cubes, cylinders, building blocks, paper, and materials for modeling and weaving. These he permitted the children to manipulate very much as they pleased, thus encouraging motor expression. Through the activities conditioned by the social environment he held that the children not only developed bodily strength and skill but at the same time increased in intellectual and spiritual stature.

All this is quite comprehensible, but Froebel went on to devise a system of mystic philosophy to explain the process of growth. His highly romantic conception was tinctured with pantheism. He undertook, for instance, to explain how the mere handling of the geometric forms, spheres, cubes, and cylinders might lead the child in some mysterious way to understand God and the universe. He also held with the pantheists that communion with Nature teaches one to distinguish between moral good and evil. Although an understanding of Froebel's philosophy was not essential to success in the operation of a play school, the earlier kindergartners professed to accept his doctrine in its entirety. In this they paid homage to a philosophy that was the very essence of romanticism. The matter-of-fact realists of a later generation were to carry forward the twin principles, motor expression and social participation, without Froebel's mystic philosophy.

The manual training movement in the United States owes much to Froebel's theory of motor expression, that is, learning by doing. Froebel not only employed the familiar activities in a school for little children but he also advocated their continued use in a more advanced school. His followers, Uno Cygnaeus of Finland and Otto Salomon of Sweden are responsible for the application of the principle to the teaching of sloyd²⁰ in the industrial schools of these European countries. After 1876, the idea was rather widely circulated in this country.

²⁰ A system of manual training, originally Swedish, which uses wood carving as a means of training in the use of tools.

FRANCIS W. PARKER

The kindergarten remained for some years a transplanted European institution, undergoing but slight modification in American practice. During the last two decades of the century the influence of the new principle began to affect the teaching of the elementary grades. Colonel Francis W. Parker (1837–1902) became the leader of a progressive movement looking toward the improvement of teaching on this level. Parker held firmly to the conviction that the public schools had a mission to perform for democracy but at the same time he was interested in seeing that the child was not made unhappy in the process.²¹ He objected to the stern discipline, the regimentation, and the drudgery of lesson-getting. He was delighted, on the other hand, with the opportunities for freedom of movement and expression which the kindergarten offered. As superintendent of the schools of Quincy, Massachusetts, he introduced reforms in the primary grades embodying the essential principles of Froebel's teachings. Afterwards, as principal of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago and of the Chicago Institute, which still later became the School of Education of the University of Chicago, he indoctrinated numerous teachers with his progressive ideas. His advanced theory prepared the way for John Dewey, who was to develop a philosophy of education in harmony with it.

WILLIAM T. HARRIS

A more practical and less emotional exponent of German philosophy than Colonel Parker was William T. Harris (1835–1908), who came into prominence as the capable head of the city schools of St. Louis in the 1870's and who served as United States Commissioner of Education from 1889 to 1906. Harris sought a foundation for an American philosophy of education in the romantic theory of the German philosopher Hegel. In so doing he advocated the retention of the spiritual and cultural values of education at a time when sentiment leaned rather toward the sciences.²² His theory led to the establishment of

²¹ Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, pp. 379–385.

²² *Ibid.*, Chap. IX.

no distinctive institution for the embodiment of his principles, but it exercised a conservative influence upon the scientific trend of the times. This is not to say that he was not in sympathy with his age, for no man understood it better or recognized more truly the part that science was to play in the modern world. Harris's theory represented a transition from the old to the new. He was a romanticist with his feet on the ground. As such, he rendered his greatest service not as the elaborator of a new theory of education but as a practical administrator who looked both forward and backward. For many years his sage counsel was voiced in writings too numerous to mention and in the deliberations of important committees of the National Education Association.

THE HERBARTIAN MOVEMENT

Another German thought trend that was destined to exercise a profound influence on American education was the Herbartian movement, based upon the teachings of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841) as elaborated by his German disciples. Herbart was a romanticist of the neohumanistic school of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller.²³ Early in life he caught the enthusiasm of his contemporaries for the restoration of the ideals of ancient Greece. For Herbart this meant the development in each individual of a well-rounded character, in the moral and social sense of the word. This he proposed to form largely through the teaching of literature and history, subjects which up to this time had not held a conspicuous place in the curriculum. And since he wished to bring back the spirit rather than the form of ancient civilization, it devolved upon him to devise a method of teaching suitable for this purpose. At the University of Königsberg, where for many years he was professor of philosophy, he organized a practice school in which he tested his theory.²⁴

For the foundation for his methodology Herbart conceived a new system of psychology. German, English, and American educators readily embraced his theory and during the latter decades of the nineteenth

²³ Friedrich Paulsen, *German Education, Past and Present*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912, pp. 162–163; 245.

²⁴ Frank P. Graves, *A History of Education in Modern Times*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913, pp. 193–220.

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century interpreted, elaborated, and propagated it in their respective countries. For a time it was widely popular, then, like so many other theories of education, it passed away as suddenly as it had appeared. But for its effect upon subsequent thought it might be dismissed without further attention in this treatise.

Herbart's psychology represented the first scientific approach to the study of education, and for this reason if for no other it deserves to be mentioned in the history of education. In abandoning John Locke's faculty psychology, which up to his time had served as the basis of all modern educational theories, Herbart's psychology made a departure in line with later scientific study. There was a germ of truth also in his doctrine of apperception which according to William James, the American psychologist, simmered down to mere association of ideas.

THE CULTURE-EPOCHS THEORY

Current literature in the field of education contains numerous references to principles worked out either by Herbart or his enthusiastic followers. These were frequently set up as men of straw by later psychologists, merely to be knocked down. There is, for instance, the culture-epochs theory, according to which the life of the individual is thought to recapitulate the life of man on earth. In the supposed parallel of development, the instruction proper for a child at any given age was sought in the historical data pertaining to the corresponding period of racial development. Thus activities of the hunting and fishing stage were advised in the education of younger children, and activities of the agricultural and handicrafts stage in the case of older ones. Tuiskon Ziller, a disciple of Herbart in Germany, and G. Stanley Hall in this country were the leading exponents of the culture-epochs theory. Attacked by more scientific students of the school of John Dewey and Edward L. Thorndike, the theory has now been abandoned, but books on education still contain references to it.

THE FIVE FORMAL STEPS

Followers of Herbart set forth also a general method of instruction. To facilitate the process of apperception—that is relating new knowl-

edge to old—they devised the five formal steps: (1) preparation, (2) presentation, (3) comparison, (4) generalization, and (5) application. They then undertook to explain how these five steps could be applied in the teaching of all school subjects.²⁵ For a time the Herbartians convinced teachers that the formula for effective instruction had at last been discovered. Then the limitations of the system came to be revealed. The five formal steps proved to be ill adapted for teaching the ordinary textbooks, which were organized chiefly on the deductive plan. Moreover too much time was wasted in methodizing the teaching of simple subjects like spelling and arithmetic, which required little elaboration. For these reasons the five formal steps gradually passed out of use.²⁶

Other ideas of Herbart such as the “many-sided interest,” and the concentration and correlation of subject matter intrigued leading teachers throughout the country. Charles DeGarmo and the McMurry brothers, Charles A. and Frank, fresh from study in the University of Jena, were leaders in a movement which swept through the normal schools and the teachers’ institutes. Publishing houses put out dozens of volumes setting forth the new ideas. The National Herbart Society, which later became the National Society for the Study of Education, was organized in 1895 to promote the movement. But the tide which had run so high only a few years before was beginning to ebb by the opening of the new century. Science had examined Herbart’s romantic conception and found it wanting in factual substance. As a permanent contribution it enriched the upper elementary curriculum with new literary and historical materials but it left no lasting effect on the secondary curriculum.

THE MASSES DEMAND PUBLIC EDUCATION

During the last quarter of the century, the masses became articulate in a demand for public schools. Whereas earlier the impetus to the

²⁵ The formal steps are revealed in practical illustrations to be found in Charles DeGarmo’s *The Essentials of Method*, rev. ed., D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1903, Part III.

²⁶ During World War II the United States Army published a Manual setting forth a system of instruction with steps similar to the Herbartian Five Formal Steps.

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movement had sprung from middle-class humanitarians who either through solicitude for the welfare of the state or sympathy for the underprivileged, urged schools as a public philanthropy, now the masses were beginning to rise and assert their right to free instruction. The Farmers' Alliance and Populist movements which, for a time, threatened to wreck the older political parties, were unequivocal in their demand for public education. This was the voice of the agrarian masses for whose benefit the crusaders had zealously labored—a voice now being raised in its own behalf.

In the industrial areas labor began to ask for child-labor laws and compulsory attendance at school. From the date of its organization in 1881, the American Federation of Labor consistently advocated these reforms, and in later years, endorsed continuation schools, free textbooks, industrial education, the elimination of adult illiteracy, and so on.²⁷ Thus the voice of labor joined that of the farmers in a united demand for public education.

Whereas state legislators had earlier in the century to be awakened from apathy by zealots of the public school movement, now they were seeking public favor by initiating public school measures on their own responsibility. The crusading philanthropists could now step aside, for democracy was aroused and able to speak for itself.

This self-assertive attitude of the masses was also in evidence in the generous response of the South to the suggestions of Robert C. Ogden of New York and the group of Northern philanthropists who organized the Conference for Education in the South at the close of the century. Southern leaders of the type of J. L. M. Curry, Charles B. Aycock, Charles D. McIver, Edwin A. Alderman, David B. Johnson, and James B. Aswell sprang up in every state to further the movement. Urged by these men, a veritable revival of public education swept from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. The success of the new movement was due not so much to the eloquence of the leaders as to the auspiciousness of the times. The sentiment of the Southern people was now ready to respond to the appeal.

²⁷ *Fifty Years of Service*. Report of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor, 1931, pp. 12-13.

RÉSUMÉ

The period between 1870 and the end of the century completed an era of pioneering in education analogous to that of the settlement of the West. Public schools reached the last frontier. The Middle Western states carried forward under their own impetus the work initiated by the earlier crusaders. The Pacific and Rocky Mountain states accepted the theory of public education as it had been worked out in the older states, and quickly came to the enjoyment of facilities commensurate with the extent of their population.

In the South the situation was more complicated. Here Northern emissaries conducted a crusade to end the distinction between the races as well as the distinction between the social classes of the white race. The carpetbag governments established public school systems which the states continued to administer with necessarily limited revenues after the passing of Reconstruction. Universal education for the Negro was provided for in theory but not in fact. Near the end of the century Northern philanthropists and Southern leaders cooperated in a movement which was soon to bring better schools for both races.

As the Pestalozzian influence waned new theories from Germany, notably those propagated by disciples of Herbart and Froebel, affected American school practices. The end of the century found the masses no longer apathetic. Farmers and laborers through their own political and trade organizations voiced their demands for better public schools without waiting, as formerly, for the instigation of middle-class humanitarians. This was a symptom of a new democracy. A further sign was furnished in the insistent demand for high school education.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Why was it easier to establish public school systems in the Western states than in the Middle West and South?
2. Prepare an account of the effect of Reconstruction on education in some Southern state.
3. Summarize the progress made in the education of the Negro before 1900.
4. Examine the foundation for the statement that the masses threw off the apathy of earlier years and, toward the end of the century, voiced an imperative demand for better public schools.

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5. Relate the data applying to secondary education in this chapter with the account of the evolution of the high school to be found in Chapter Ten, pages 206-212.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

A Curriculum for Mental Discipline

THE DOMINANCE OF DISCIPLINE

Formal discipline determined curriculum and teaching procedures during the second half of the nineteenth century, just as culture had exercised a dominant role during the first. It is true that John Locke's theory of the development of memory, reason, will, judgment, and other mental faculties through strenuous application to the study of the classics and mathematics was well known from about 1750 on. It is also true that for many years prior to 1860 academic authorities had urged the study of the classics for discipline as well as culture. Nevertheless, for reasons about to be stated, the last half of the century may be regarded as the golden age of mental discipline.

When, during the early national period, the newer subjects entered into active competition with the classics, conservative scholars decried them as too simple and too poorly organized to meet the requirements of mental discipline. Teachers of these modern subjects were humbled by a criticism that they were compelled to acknowledge as just, according to psychological principles then generally accepted. In all the newer fields of study, instructors doubled their efforts to remedy the deficiency. English teachers, who were hard put to it to make their instruction sufficiently difficult, even canvassed the possibility of using

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Anglo-Saxon for the purpose.¹ Mathematics was the first subject to satisfy the requirements of the advocates for discipline and, before 1850, was regarded as of equal value with the classics as a means of general mental training.

Thus it can hardly be contended that discipline did not appear as a motive before 1850. Nor can it be maintained that culture disappeared, as a motive, after that date. In this connection, the further fact that practical utility was now vigorously competing with discipline for first consideration should not be overlooked. The point that will be pressed, however, is that discipline, to a greater extent than any other motive, tended to shape curriculum and method during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

THE NEW CULTURE

The transition from the cultural to the disciplinary motive was not difficult to achieve. In fact, by judicious reasoning it was possible to merge the two ideas into one. Why, indeed, according to the logic of the times, should not the truest culture spring from the cultivation of the mental faculties? This enlarged view, when propounded, greatly strengthened the concept of culture. Culture was thus delivered from the incubus of superficial accomplishments with which it had long been confused, and at the same time it was freed from the connotation of the caste system now so offensive to democratic taste. Discipline came to be referred to as mental culture.

Thomas Huxley, the distinguished English scientist, embodied this newly derived conception in his classic definition of a liberally educated man. Wrote Huxley:

That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the

¹ Elmer E. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1902, p. 422.

gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature, and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of art, to hate all vileness and respect others as himself.

Such an one, and no other, I conceive has had a liberal education; for he is, as completely as man can be, in harmony with Nature.²

Charles W. Eliot, who never eschewed the doctrine of mental discipline, some years later in addressing the National Education Association set forth the American conception of the cultivated man. Eliot's view, which he claimed to have derived from Emerson, did not differ vastly from Huxley's, as the reader may observe:

In this paper, he [the cultivated man of the future] is not to be a weak, critical, fastidious creature, vain of a little exclusive information or of an uncommon knack in Latin verse or mathematical logic; he is to be a man of quick perceptions, broad sympathies, and wide affinities; responsive but independent; self-reliant, but deferential; loving truth and candor, but also moderation and proportion; courageous, but gentle; not finished but perfecting.³

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE NEWER SUBJECTS

Until about 1860, the classics and mathematics, as has been said before, monopolized the curriculum, defending their position with the timeworn arguments of culture and discipline. The newer subjects, which had been tolerated in a subordinate position, were now clamoring for recognition on an equal footing. The situation reached an acute stage, near the middle of the century, when a fierce controversy broke out in Great Britain between a group of brilliant scientists, on one side, and the representatives of the great English public schools, on the other.

² Thomas Huxley, *A Liberal Education and Where to Find It*.

³ Charles W. Eliot, "The New Definition of the Cultivated Man," *Proceedings and Addresses*, National Education Association, 1903, p. 46.

The classicists maintained that the sciences were shallow informational subjects, lacking in organization, unsuited for discipline, and altogether unworthy of the effort of a high-minded scholar. The scientists met the issue frankly. They acknowledged the theory of mental discipline as a criterion for evaluating studies but held that there were certain faculties that could be better trained by the study of the sciences than by either mathematics or the classics; further, that it was more economical to train the mind with the useful data of the sciences than with the useless data of the traditional subjects. Huxley explained how the data of zoology could be effectively organized for this purpose. Faraday argued in behalf of the study of the physical sciences for developing the judgment, and Sir Charles Lyell offered testimony to their contribution in the development of perception and the reasoning power.⁴

In this country, Edward L. Youmans, Francis Wayland, and President F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia University took up the controversy on the side of the sciences. No one in either country questioned the validity of the doctrine of mental discipline. Rather the issue was drawn upon the merits of the useful subjects as a preferable means of discipline. The scientists won the argument in America and, one by one, as we shall see, new subjects were logically organized to meet the demands of mental training.

Thus the theory became firmly entrenched in school practice. Edward L. Thorndike, in 1903, after inspecting fifty books on education and psychology, concluded: "Books on applied psychology express this implication outright, and books on education carry it to an amazing extreme."⁵

THE CLASSICS FOR MENTAL TRAINING

Toward the middle of the century, the tendency of academies and high schools was to offer a college-preparatory course by the side of

⁴ Edward L. Youmans, *The Culture Demanded by Modern Life*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1867, see Appendix.

⁵ Edward L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1913, II, 357-365.

the "English" or general course intended for pupils not expecting to go to college. This preparatory course carried forward the tradition of the old-time Latin school but in a somewhat weakened form. As the modern subjects clamored for attention and as the colleges extended the list of entrance requirements to include other subjects, the high schools could not devote the full time available for the preparatory course to the teaching of the ancient languages. The consequence of dividing time and sharing attention with the newer studies was a deterioration of the classical course. Nevertheless, the classics continued to hold first place in the secondary school programs until the end of the century.

The study of Latin was now begun in the first or, at the latest, the second year of the high school and was continued for the remainder of the course. The first year was given over to a beginner's book of some sort; Caesar's *Commentaries* was usually read in the second year, Cicero's *Orations*, in the third; and Virgil's *Aeneid*, in the fourth. Sometimes the order in the third and the fourth years was reversed. Occasionally Sallust, Nepos, or *Viri Romae* was given instead of Caesar or in addition to it.

Teachers paid lip service to culture but taught for discipline. The grammar method of teaching was universal. As the classics now had to divide time with the other subjects and as the length of the course had been reduced from five or six years to four, teachers were required to devote most of their attention to drill in fundamentals. Little time remained for cultivating humanistic interests. Discipline remained as the only aim—a hazy objective to be achieved in some mysterious way through the usual form of instruction.

THE DISCIPLINE OF ARITHMETIC

Formal English grammar and systematic arithmetic monopolized the elementary school program through the latter half of the nineteenth century. Discipline of the mental faculties rather than practical utility was the chief motive in arithmetic. Long involved processes dealing with abstract principles seldom met in daily life filled the texts used in the upper grades. The study of elementary arithmetic was to begin when the child was about six and completed when he was about

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thirteen. As if this were not enough, there was usually a year of "advanced" arithmetic in the high school program.

Both the textbooks and method of instruction illustrated the tendency to proceed from the abstract to the concrete. In so far as there were any plans for assisting the pupils, they were deductive—from the rule to the problem.

ALGEBRA FOR MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

The abstract character of algebra rendered the subject peculiarly appropriate for mental discipline and it is therefore not at all surprising to find the subject holding a prominent place in the programs of secondary and higher institutions. Algebra "was taught first for the purpose of making mathematicians rather than American citizens; and, second, for the purpose of developing patience and habits of persistence and of training a pupil in reasoning."⁶ In the earlier algebras definitions came first and the topics were presented in logical order. The problems dealt with abstruse rather than life situations. Much space was devoted to such complex processes as finding the highest common factor, cube root, complicated radicals, and simultaneous equations in more than three unknowns. In their zeal to secure disciplinary results teachers neglected the practical implications of the subject.

GEOMETRY FOR DISCIPLINE

Mental discipline has long been the chief motive for the study of geometry. Pupils who followed the logical processes which the study required were supposed to master the art of reasoning and to apply it accurately in the later experiences of life. Since the acquisition of such an art was conditioned upon the logical organization of the subject, geometry resisted change more strongly than did arithmetic or algebra. Until quite recent times it retained substantially the same form that Euclid gave it when, in the third century B.C., he applied the logic of Aristotle to the lore of measurement prevalent in ancient Greece.

⁶ David E. Smith, *The Progress of Algebra in the Last Quarter of a Century*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1925, p. 13.

THE SCIENCES AS FORMAL SCHOOL SUBJECTS

During the first half of the nineteenth century there was widespread interest in the study of the sciences; during the second half, this interest increased by leaps and bounds. The colleges entered the field in earnest. The newer universities and colleges, including those supported in part by the federal land grants, hastened to improve their equipment, and the strongholds of conservatism—Harvard, Yale, and Princeton—organized separate scientific schools. In 1876, Harvard gave entrance examinations in astronomy, botany, chemistry, and physics. Small high schools loaded down their teachers with physiology, physical geography, botany, geology, chemistry, physics, and astronomy, in addition to the classical program. Interest far outstripped the ability of the institutions to render effective instruction, but there was still no abatement in the popular demand.

The clamor for the new subjects brought the sciences into direct competition with the classics. Careful Latin scholars with an eye to thorough and systematic instruction were quick to sense the weaknesses of the brief informal offerings in science. They argued that no profound intellectual benefit could arise from such superficial study; that the sciences gratified the student's idle curiosity without provoking him to sincere effort; and that the study of nature could not be properly organized for the purposes of mental discipline.

The proponents of the sciences admitted these weaknesses and forthwith set about to remedy them. The argument that the sciences were poorly organized was speedily met with new texts which teemed with definitions and stressed abstract principles to the neglect of concrete instances. The Committee of Ten, in 1893, advised the high schools to teach fewer sciences and devote more time to each. Thus the sciences met the challenge of the conservatives to present a substantial body of knowledge logically organized.

THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF PHYSICS

Natural philosophy was giving way to physics by 1870. More attention was being directed toward the mathematical phases of the

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subject and pupils were given more opportunities for laboratory work. Nevertheless, as was indicated by a statistical survey in 1880, short informational courses were still common and Steele's *Fourteen Weeks in Physics* was the most popular text.

By 1900 the "science of common things" had been replaced by the logically organized subject, and the teaching of technical physics bore little or no relation to the student's experience. In such teaching mathematics was an essential prerequisite, and physics was placed in the last year of the high school so that pupils might receive ample instruction in mathematics before beginning the subject.

CHEMISTRY SIXTY YEARS AGO

The chemistry of the period, like physics, had become largely theoretical. Students performed and "wrote up" numerous experiments, memorized laws, hypotheses, and theories, and gained knowledge and some technique which, too often, was not related to life activities. Many of the high school texts, written by college professors with little understanding of the needs of secondary school pupils, were in reality college treatises somewhat abbreviated and simplified. As a result, the introductory courses were formal and unpractical. The theoretical character of the work led to a reaction in favor of more practical instruction early in the new century.

FROM NATURAL HISTORY TO ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY

After about 1865, natural history is noted less frequently in the curriculum. As a matter of fact, it was only the name that was being omitted, for the subject matter continued to be taught either as zoology, botany, or biology. Emphasis shifted to anatomical structure and classification of specimens. The advent of Darwin's theory of evolution reversed the order of study in zoology. Now, the lower animals were examined and classified first—the opposite of the earlier practice.

Memorizing continued to play an important part in the study of zoology, but observations aided memory and object lessons verified the text. Specimens were brought to school and dissection became more prevalent. The study had now reached the stage of formal organiza-

tion and furnished, in the words of an earlier textbook writer, an excellent drill for the mental powers and "never-ending resources for an agreeable mental improvement."

FORMALIZED BOTANY

About the middle of the century a text appeared which was destined to have a marked influence upon the teaching of botany for more than fifty years. This text was Asa Gray's *How Plants Grow*. Gray's text was first published in 1858 and continued in use until 1900. For the period from 1896 to 1900 it was used in more schools than any other text. From a casual examination it may readily be seen that the chief emphasis of the text was upon anatomical structure and classification. Numerous technical terms were used and the logical treatment was maintained. Under this leadership instruction in botany became formal and highly technical. The discipline of the faculties came to be an end of equal importance with the study of Nature.

ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY

After about 1870, physiology was rapidly introduced into elementary and secondary schools. Two factors are largely responsible for this increase in popularity of the subject. First, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union began to urge the teaching of physiology and hygiene with special reference to the effect of alcohol and narcotics upon the human system. Second, the publication in America of Herbert Spencer's essay, "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" directed the attention of educators to the failure of the schools to teach the principles of health. Influenced chiefly by these factors, states enacted laws making the teaching of physiology compulsory in public schools. By 1900 nearly all the states had enacted such laws and the subject was being offered on both the elementary and high school levels.

The newer texts incorporated such data but stressed chiefly the anatomical aspects of the subject. The names of the bones, muscles, and organs were memorized, but little was taught about their functions. Anatomy was still being taught in high schools at the close of the century.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Physical geography became one of the leading sciences in the high schools. Although not required for college entrance, it enrolled nearly as many students as did algebra. The older texts were of the compendium type, presenting general information compiled from a variety of sources. Toward the end of the century the subject matter was restricted more closely to the earth sciences.

PRESTIGE ACQUIRED BY THE MODERN LANGUAGES

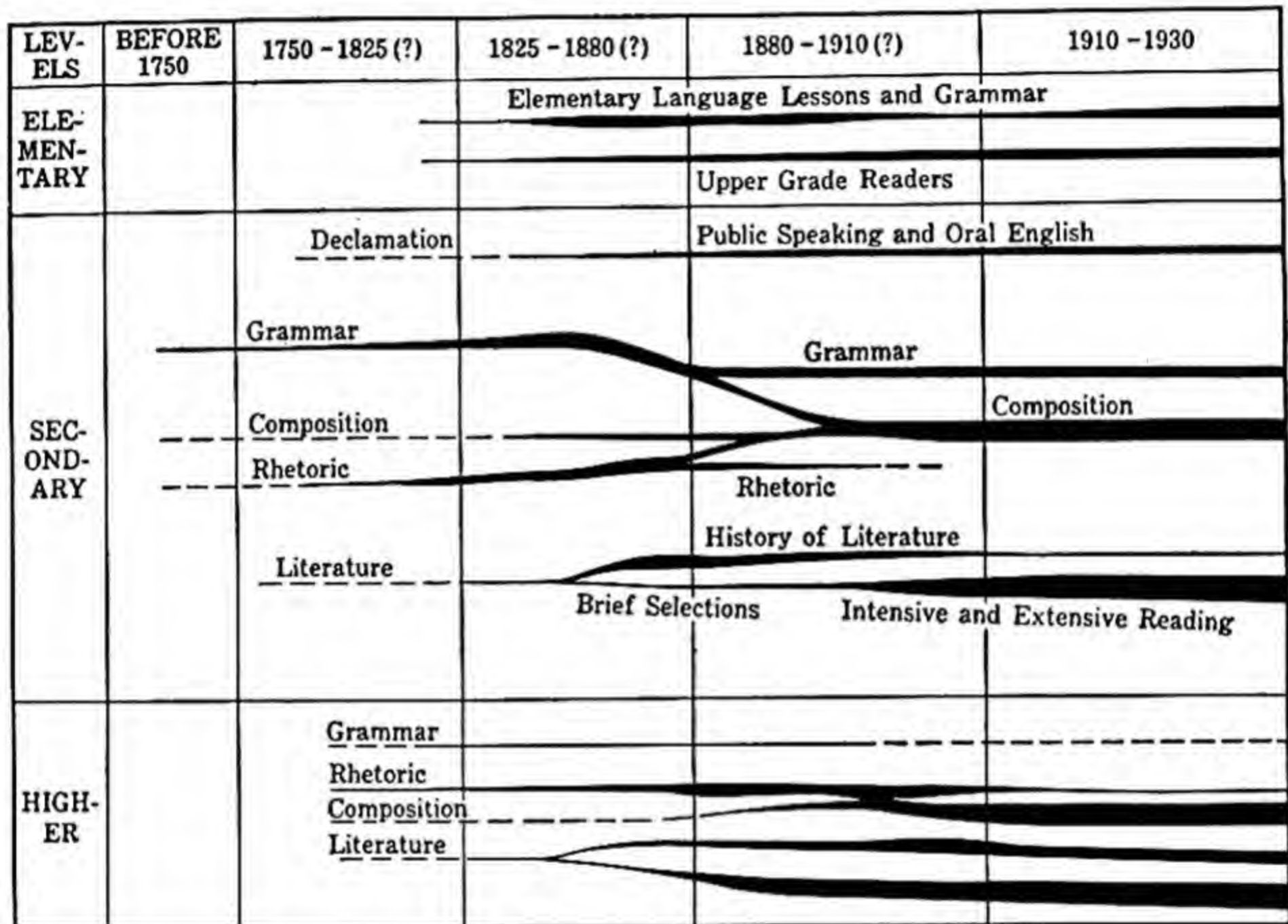
The cool reception accorded the modern languages by college authorities in the early decades of the nineteenth century has already been mentioned (see p. 250). Although these subjects were offered by the better-known colleges, their prestige was low and it was not until after 1875 that Harvard and other colleges accepted French for entrance. The teaching of German in higher institutions encountered the same apathy, but after the middle of the century both languages improved in standing. Germany's leadership in the field of applied science stimulated interest in this language in the scientific schools and German, along with French, came to supply the language equivalent of the classics in scientific courses. No great advance in the study of Spanish in the colleges took place until after the Spanish-American War.

High school and academy programs of the early national period offered the modern languages, the seminaries for girls featuring French in particular. This language, however, received only slight attention before the eighties and nineties. The same was true of German and Spanish, which came into the programs later than French. Before the close of the century, however, French and German were recognized as stable high school subjects.

Teaching methods were similar to those used in the classics. Formal grammars in all these languages were modeled after Latin grammar. Since mental discipline had come to be the chief motive for the study of the classics and formal grammar was considered the chief instrument for attaining discipline, the newer languages had to meet competition with the classics on the same ground and with the same weapon.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR

In the course of its development, grammar was to reach out toward literature on the one side and toward composition on the other. The trend in the direction of literature is indicated in the fact that the *Paradise Lost*, the *Essay on Man*, and *The Task* were sometimes used for parsing. One writer⁷ as late as 1900, in describing how grammar



The Evolution of the Teaching of English. (The Intensity of the Line Indicates the Importance of the Subject at Any Given Period.) The Dates Are Approximate.

might be used in the study of *Evangeline*, claimed that by the end of the second year of grammar, the pupil ought to be able to give the syntax of all words in every line of the poem. Thus literature was dissected in the interest of a formal disciplinary exercise. The practice of butchering literature, despite its deleterious effects on literary appreciation, furnished many a schoolboy with a repertoire of memory gems.

⁷ Lincoln Owens, "Suggestions upon the Teaching of English Grammar," *Education*, XXI, 591.

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There can hardly be any doubt that the informal oral language lessons, after the fashion of Pestalozzi, which came to be used in American primary schools about the time of the Civil War, tended to undermine formal grammar. This inductive, and more or less incidental, procedure appealed to both teachers and pupils.

Sentence analysis came more and more into prominence. Reed and Kellogg, in the later decades of the century, led the vogue of sentence diagraming, which captured and held the fancy of English teachers for a score of years.⁸ The trend of grammar in the direction of composition became more pronounced. Various combinations of the two subjects were attempted under the more general title of English or language lessons. These new methods of presentation proved more popular in the grade school than in the secondary school. Weakened perhaps by innovations, the back of formal grammar has not yet been broken. Grammar still has staunch advocates among those who retain a belief in its disciplinary effects and among those who observe its utility in the subsequent study of foreign languages. The demands of college entrance requirements have undoubtedly bolstered its position.

LITERATURE IN THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM

From 1880 to 1900 there was more interest in literature than in composition. Many schools now came to stress the study of short English classics instead of the history of literature, which had earlier almost crowded out the selections for reading.

Before 1890 we find *The Lady of the Lake*, *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, *Macbeth*, *Snowbound*, *Julius Caesar*, *Evangeline*, *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, *The Bunker Hill Oration*, and *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* being taught in many high schools. The college entrance requirements in literature, set by Yale in 1894 and by other institutions later, probably reflected what many high schools were already teaching. The colleges were at the same time developing courses on the higher level.

Among the earliest of those who sought to improve the status of

⁸ The diagram was first used by Stephen W. Clark in his *The Normal Grammar Analytic and Synthetic: Illustrated by Diagrams*, 1870.

English was Charles W. Eliot. "It can not be doubted," he wrote in 1884, "that English literature is beyond all comparison the amplest, most various and most splendid literature which the world has seen. And now with all this wonderful treasure within the reach of our youth, what is the position of American schools and colleges in regard to teaching English? Has English literature the foremost place in the programs of schools? By no means; at best only a subordinate place and in many schools no place at all. . . . So little attention is given to English at preparatory schools that half of the time, labor and money which the University spends upon English must be devoted to the mere elements of the subjects."⁹

Beginning about 1895, certain colleges began listing in their entrance requirements two groups of selections: (1) those required for critical study, and (2) those accepted for general reading. There accordingly developed in the schools two practices in the teaching of literature—the intensive study of a few selections and the more rapid reading of a larger number.

In some schools the critical study was carried to an extreme that well merited the reproof it received in the educational journals. It was held in this contention that high school pupils were too immature for such "microscopic examinations," and that in their case extensive reading would accomplish better results.

THE POSITION OF HISTORY

Not at all enviable was the position of history in the high school and college programs of the early eighties. "One would naturally suppose," wrote Dr. Eliot, "that the history of the United States and England, at least, would hold an important position in the programs of American schools and colleges. . . . The facts do not accord with this natural supposition."¹⁰ The majority of the colleges did not require history of their students and only a few of them employed history teachers.

⁹ Charles W. Eliot, "What Is a Liberal Education?" *Century Magazine*, XXVIII (1884), 205. Articles in educational journals of this period indicate that Dr. Eliot voiced the sentiment of the time.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

Prior to the report of the Committee of Ten in 1894, little time was devoted to history in any of its forms. Although it was being taught in only an "insignificant fraction of the total number of American secondary schools," its position was somewhat strengthened by the recommendations of this report. Belief in the disciplinary power of school studies retarded somewhat the advance of history in popularity. Although it was freely admitted that history had some value in this respect, the disciplinary power of mathematics and the languages was thought to be vastly superior to that of history. It was hard to convince conservative educators that an informative subject such as this should stand on the same footing in the curriculum with subjects definitely dependent upon methodology.

THE INTRODUCTION OF MANUAL TRAINING

The manual training movement in this country began in 1876. In that year, President John D. Runkle, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, visiting the Centennial Exposition of Philadelphia, viewed with interest an exhibit of shop work done by students of the Imperial Technical School of Moscow. Mindful of a longfelt want for a laboratory device by means of which students of technology might acquire mechanical skill and practical knowledge for their vocations, Dr. Runkle established in the Institute a school of mechanic arts which taught handwork in connection with the high school subjects.

A similar institution known as the St. Louis Manual Training School was organized in connection with Washington University in 1879. Professor Calvin M. Woodward was a moving spirit not only in promoting the organization of this institution, but also in propagating the idea throughout the country. Several of the newly organized state agricultural colleges, including Pennsylvania State and Purdue, following the lead of Massachusetts "Tech" and Washington University, soon introduced courses in manual training. In institutions of this type the vocational motive seems to have been present though not dominant. The prevailing idea was that training of the hand was a necessary counterpart of intellectual training; the manual training contributed to the all-round cultural development of the boy. The vogue of manual training continued until about 1910. In that year the United States Com-

missioner's figures show that more than half the cities with a population of 4,000 and over were offering manual training in the public schools. By this date, there were listed 250 "independent, normal, industrial, and technical schools." In addition, the subject was being taught to more than 25,000 pupils in the 265 regular public high schools. These figures probably represent the high-water mark of manual training in its earlier phase.

Up to this time, the schools had been justifying the subject on grounds other than its vocational value. While present in the beginning and to some extent throughout its history, the vocational motive had until now been carefully kept in the background. Runkle, Woodward, and succeeding leaders emphasized its cultural and disciplinary values and set forth the vocational as a practical and somewhat subordinate concomitant. Runkle, for instance, thought that it mattered little whether or not the pupil ever applied the special skill or knowledge which he acquired, and Woodward thought more of enlarging the pupil's intellectual horizon by acquainting him with industrial conditions than of preparing him for any definite vocation. Many others thought of manual training as a means of developing such mental powers as sustained attention, reason, and self-control and as a means of strengthening the will and determining the character.

For accomplishing these ends there was developed an elaborate system of graded exercises in such subjects as freehand and mechanical drawing, clay modeling, carpentry, wood turning, carving, pattern making, forging, sheet-metal work. The usefulness of the product was not a factor in these exercises. The development of general mental traits, supposedly applicable in many specific situations, was the aim.

THE BEGINNING OF HOME ECONOMICS

The home economics movement in America owes its origin to the efforts of several nationally known women who labored during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century to improve the status of their sex in home and state. In an address to the New York legislature as early as 1818 Emma Willard outlined a course of domestic instruction. "It is believed," wrote Mrs. Willard, "that housewifery might be greatly improved by being taught, not only in practice,

but in theory.”¹¹ Although it was more than fifty years before this suggestion was put into practice on a large scale, the movement thus set under way continued in the meantime to gather momentum. In 1840 Catherine Beecher published the first American text on the subject under the title *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* which, along with her *Domestic Receipt Book*, went through many editions and found considerable favor in the schools. Her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, collaborated with her in the publication of *Principles of Domestic Science* (1870), a work devoted to diet, thrift, cleanliness, sewing, care of infants, good manners, and Christian conduct. But perhaps the most significant of all was the contribution of Ellen H. Richards (1842–1911), “founder of the home economics movement.” Mrs. Richards, during the thirty years in which she served as instructor in sanitary science in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, published numerous works on different aspects of home economics.

Data of a quasi-scientific quality had for some time been accumulating. Benjamin Thompson, later Count Rumford, born in America in 1753, made the first significant contribution in his studies of the economy of fuels, the use of kitchen utensils, and the effects of heat on various culinary processes. Edward L. Youmans, the famous chemist, later assembled in his *Household Science* (1858) information relating to the application of the laws of chemistry, physics, and biology to the household practices. Later still, Wilbur O. Atwater (1844–1907), who supervised experimentation in the land-grant colleges, contributed important studies on nutrition. Mrs. Richards prepared textbooks on the chemistry of foods and cleaning, the cost of food and shelter and the “art of right living.” Thus little by little there was gathered a body of knowledge that might in some degree be called scientific. This the schools appropriated as the intellectual accompaniment of the household arts.

Courses in sewing and cooking, designed merely to promote skill and a thrifty use of materials, soon proved inadequate for high school use. Mrs. Richards in 1905 complained because many high schools offered an insufficient foundation in pure science. She insisted that

¹¹ Quoted in Benjamin R. Andrews, *Education for the Home*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 36, 1914, p. 11.

cooking and sewing, "mere tool-work," as she said, be relegated to the lower grades and that courses in chemistry and physics be made to precede the courses in home economics. Quite evidently the high school courses, in her opinion, were to be courses in applied science and not merely courses in the manual arts.¹² Not all theorists who favored it agreed as to its purpose or as to the course that should be pursued; not all the high schools that hastened to introduce it knew just what they were about. Academic authorities in control of school policies long remained to be convinced of its educational value.

The earlier courses offered in the colleges were often no further advanced and sometimes quite similar to those offered in the high schools. This close relationship had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Materials and methods, devised and made available by the more competent college teachers, were forthwith transplanted in the lower institutions by college students who upon graduation became teachers in the high schools. The high school courses were thus constantly being enriched by the research achievements of the colleges. The subject owes much to experimentation in the land-grant colleges, where it provided for girls the counterpart of manual activities designed for boys.

In methodology the subject was affected by the same forces that shaped the trend of manual training. Discipline of mind and body shortly came to be the end of all activities. Standardized procedures, similar to the graded exercises in manual training, were developed for this purpose. This effort to achieve the disciplinary ends of instruction by a methodical organization led to a divorce of the subject from the practical purpose with which it started. In some schools girls cooked under laboratory conditions foods never found in their homes; in some, the preparation of party foods was taught to girls who regarded ordinary cooking as drudgery; in others sewing was reduced to mechanical exercises without relation to the needs of the home. For many years the fortunes of the two subjects were linked and, when attacked by the conservatives, the same arguments were urged in behalf of each.

¹² *Fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, 1924, p. 44.

TRAINING FOR BUSINESS

Business colleges continued to increase in number and popularity during the period immediately succeeding the Civil War. By 1890, such colleges had been established in nearly 200 cities, representing every state in the union except Florida, Nevada, North Carolina, New Mexico, South Carolina, and Utah. These colleges usually offered courses from four to six months in length in bookkeeping, stenography, telegraphy, and typewriting. If the student were far enough advanced in English and mathematics he was, in most schools, excused from taking these subjects. In practice the course was narrowly vocational. Its leaders advanced this as its chief motive, although they frequently stressed, in theory at least, its cultural and disciplinary possibilities.

Bookkeeping and several other business subjects, as we have seen, have long been taught in the high schools. Up until the opening of the twentieth century, however, the vocational possibilities of such offerings seem to have been realized to a lesser extent in public than in private institutions. During the eighties and nineties, the attention of American school authorities was called to the success of the English, French, and Germans in administering practical business courses. Developments, definitely vocational in the high schools, date from this period. From this time forward, commercial courses in high schools and separate commercial high schools came increasingly into prominence.

The first "business high school" organized in New York City, in 1890, in the course of a few years developed a five-year curriculum. Separate schools offering three- and four-year curriculums were shortly afterward organized in Brooklyn, Boston, Washington, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and Syracuse. As might be supposed, the movement to establish separate schools has been confined to the large cities. The commercial course in the regular high schools seems to be quite sufficient to meet the needs of the smaller places.

In the organization of these separate commercial high schools there is the suggestion that training for business was not regarded as a legitimate function of the regular high school. Evidently the admin-

istrators had to be convinced of the genuineness of the cultural and disciplinary values of which the business school leaders boasted.

AGRICULTURE AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT

The Morrill Act of 1862 proposed to make available to each of the states a grant of federal lands from the proceeds of which a college of agricultural and mechanical arts should be established and maintained. In the early days few of the land-grant colleges employed more than one professor of agriculture. This man was usually required to teach all branches of the subject, a duty which left him little time to develop courses along the line of his special interest. As a consequence of this policy, it was a long time before instruction in the several studies now grouped under this general heading rose above the secondary level. Before 1910, the teaching of the dairy subjects, for instance, depended in a large measure upon the practical experience of the teacher. Even in the teaching of a subject so fundamental as "soils," the instruction was general and "of a superficial character," yet commendable progress was made. This is particularly observable when we compare the courses formerly offered in the land-grant colleges with those offered today.

As we have seen, the aspiration of the farming population for training leading to the intelligent, if not scientific, pursuit of agriculture led to the establishment of the land-grant colleges. As these institutions developed it became evident that they could accommodate only a relatively small number of the boys in need of instruction. Few were able to leave the farm and pay board in the colleges; fewer still were prepared, on arrival, to enter courses of collegiate grade. The problem of the past sixty years has accordingly been that of developing appropriate courses within reach of the farming population.

The first step toward the solution of the difficulties just outlined was the organization of secondary schools in connection with the land-grant colleges. The University of Minnesota organized the first of these in 1888. The other agricultural colleges followed until by 1910 thirty-five such schools were in operation in as many states. This movement signifies not only a desire on the part of the colleges to allow the poorly prepared to fit themselves for college, but also a desire to place the

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advanced courses in agriculture upon the collegiate level. It was felt that the colleges could no longer afford to recognize for credit toward a degree courses of secondary grade.

In the effort to place agricultural training within reach of the masses there developed in the Southern states a number of agricultural high schools with the congressional district as the unit of organization. Alabama organized the first of these in 1889 and completed its system of nine schools in 1895. Georgia organized a system of eleven schools, one for each of the congressional districts, in 1906, and Virginia provided a similar system in 1908. Arkansas and Oklahoma, about the same time, used the judicial district for the unit of organization. Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Mississippi, and other states of the West and South soon established agricultural high schools with the county as the unit.

In some of the separate schools for agriculture the development of courses was retarded by the lack of properly trained teachers, by the lack of suitably organized materials, and by the tendency to cling to the traditional high school programs. The rural population took none too readily to book farming and were inclined to measure education in terms of classical learning. Everywhere the conflict between the ideal of discipline and the practical motive of agriculture tended to retard the advance of the subject.

A further step in the effort to bring agricultural training within the reach of the masses was made in the introduction of the subject into the elementary school program. Little progress was made in this direction until after 1900, but by 1908, fourteen states had added agriculture to the list of subjects required by law to be taught in the public schools. Several other states not included in this list were, by the same date, requiring prospective teachers to be examined on this subject. These regulations are still in effect. On the elementary level agriculture assimilated the earlier course in nature study.

ART IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Massachusetts and Boston, in particular, continued to lead in the teaching of art in the public schools. Walter Smith, an Englishman who was appointed art supervisor for the state, became responsible

for the enforcement of the law of 1870 which required the teaching of the subject. Smith's outline of instruction for the high schools was probably the best of his time.¹³ It was based on extensive disciplinary exercises carried through every grade of the elementary school and was designed to develop the pupils' skill in drawing geometric forms and the outlines of simple objects. In the high school pupils were required to do pen or pencil sketches that called for shading. Here also they learned the harmony of colors, the origin and chemical character of the pigments, the mixtures to produce the secondary and tertiary colors, wash tinting, and advanced design. The practical motive was not lost sight of. Illustrations were made in the fields of architecture, anatomy, botany, and other sciences.¹⁴

The manual training movement had a marked influence upon the teaching of art in the secondary schools. Drawing, which was quickly recognized as an essential that should be provided early in every manual training course, soon lost its significance as a factor in industrial art and came to be taught chiefly for its "educative," or disciplinary, possibilities. Vocational and other practical motives were shoved into the background as unworthy, and technique, designed to coordinate head and hand, was pushed to the front. Such was the trend in manual training and in drawing, which was for thirty years to share its fortunes.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MUSIC

After about 1885, normal schools began training grade teachers to conduct classes in public school music, and soon the subject was being taught in the city and better rural schools. Public school music meant singing, a required subject in which children were taught to read notes. This was advocated, not as a form of harmless amusement but as a serious subject, useful in oratory and capable of influencing the child's conduct.

When the College Entrance Examination Board in 1906 added

¹³ Walter Smith's principles of teaching were quite similar to those used by William Minifie for a brief time in Baltimore as early as 1848.

¹⁴ Walter Smith, "Drawing in Graded Public Schools: What to Teach and How to Teach It," *Proceedings of The National Education Association*, Washington, D.C., 1872, p. 85.

music to the list of subjects for the entrance examination, the act signaled the advance of music to the secondary level. Developments on the collegiate level had for more than thirty years been paving the way for this step. Beginning with Iowa State in 1867, Harvard in 1870, Michigan in 1871, Vassar in 1872, Smith and Pennsylvania in 1875, numerous higher institutions before the close of the century established schools or departments of music. Undoubtedly, this widespread recognition of music by the colleges has tended to bolster the position of the subject in the high schools.

FORMAL PHYSICAL EXERCISES

Great strides were made in physical education during the eighties. The Swedish system of gymnastics introduced by Hartvig Nissen was adopted by a number of schools; the German societies increased their efforts to extend the German system; many colleges and universities now employed trained physical directors; a number of schools employed directors and gave physical education a place in the daily program. It was during this decade that the playground movement mentioned in Chapter Seventeen (see p. 373) began.

In 1892 an investigation of the status of physical education in 272 important cities of the United States showed that 83 cities were employing special physical education directors; that 81 cities without directors required teachers to give exercises; that 108 cities permitted teachers to use their own judgment as to the practicing of the exercises. Of the 81 cities, 41 per cent were then using the German exercises; 29 per cent, the Swedish; 18 per cent, an eclectic system; and 12 per cent, the Delsartean. These formal exercises were usually given in the classroom by the regular teacher. They were generally regarded as work and no matter which system was used, they offered children little in the way of recreation.

RÉSUMÉ

Since the middle of the eighteenth century the distinction between the logically organized studies and those presented in a natural or informal manner has been pronounced. The cleavage has separated

the older studies from the newer—the cultural and disciplinary subjects from the practical and vocational.

In colonial times the first group contained only the classics, and the second the “English branches”—all the other subjects taught in the native tongue. As time went on, and certain of the newer subjects achieved logical organization, these in turn were classed as disciplinary studies. Thus, mathematics, English, the natural sciences, and the modern languages, when organized for teaching purposes, came to be added to the list of orthodox subjects. In the meantime, social and economic changes called for new practical and vocational studies—agriculture, home economics, the fine arts, and the commercial subjects—to fill and further extend the list of informal offerings.

Throughout the period of our study the conception of effective instruction was almost constantly associated with the logical organization of subject matter. Informal or incidental instruction was nearly always regarded as trivial and inconsequential.

Formal organization of a subject was essential to its recognition for college entrance. Frequently high schools offered subjects in the experimental stage of development but made a careful distinction between these and the logically organized subjects—according the greater prestige to the latter. When the high schools refused outright to offer manual training, agriculture, or commercial studies, separate schools had to be set up for the teaching of these subjects. It is no wonder, then, that teachers in all fields undertook to formalize their teaching and to advance extravagant claims for the disciplinary value of their favorite studies.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Make a further study of the motives advanced for the teaching of your favorite subject. To what extent has mental discipline been urged as a motive?
2. Prepare a special report on the educational views of: (a) Thomas Huxley; (b) Matthew Arnold; (c) Herbert Spencer; (d) Charles W. Eliot; (e) Edward L. Youmans.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Life in the Twentieth Century

I. AMERICA ASSUMES WORLD LEADERSHIP

BROADENING THE BASE OF DEMOCRACY

New liberalizing tendencies began with the opening of the twentieth century. These affected not only the citizen's relation to the government but also government's relation to business and property. Monopolistic tendencies in industry were called into question; the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, and later of the Prohibition Amendment brought the federal government into the arena with business. Contemporary with these tendencies, laws permitting initiative, referendum, and recall of public officials, and the Woman's Suffrage Amendment broadened the base of the electorate and placed new responsibilities upon the voting public.

A further advance along the same lines came with Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal administration. Now, the federal government undertook not only to regulate business, industry, and agriculture through numerous restrictive measures, but, through the Tennessee Valley Authority, rural electrification projects, and government subsidies, it entered into active competition with private enterprises. Later in the same period, frequent attempts were made in Congress to nullify state poll-tax laws, to regulate employment practices in business and industry, and to enact antisegregation and civil rights legislation. A

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number of so-called liberal interpretations of existing statutes by the United States Supreme Court were in line with these changing conceptions of the proper administration of government in a democratic society.

Voting strength, as registered in memberships of labor unions, farm organizations, business and manufacturing associations, came to carry increasing weight with politicians whenever legislation affecting one or another of these organizations was proposed. Pressure groups clamored for special privileges. The voice of the general public frequently went unexpressed, or, when expressed, was often drowned by the clamor of louder vocal minorities.

Centralized authority, administered by numerous federal bureaus increased; the authority of the states accordingly declined. The rapid development of interstate trade, travel, and communication, seemed to justify federal regulation of affairs once deemed of local concern only, but now by common consent demanding national direction. Some acclaimed the new trend of the times progressive democracy; others spoke disparagingly of it as the tyranny of the socialized state.

AMERICAN ISOLATIONISM

Remembering Washington's injunction to avoid entangling alliances, this country followed during the nineteenth century the tradition of isolationism. Economic self-sufficiency and remoteness from powerful neighbors nurtured this attitude of aloofness. Seldom did Americans concern themselves with the matter of international relationships. Thus, in a measure, ignorant of the rest of the world, and indifferent, America pursued a single course with little regard for the interests, needs, and divergent points of view of distant peoples.

Unprepared for the responsibilities of world leadership thrust upon it in our times, the United States has been loath to accept the obligation. The wiser leaders, however, now seem to have caught the late Wendell Willkie's vision of one world peopled by many races of diverse interests—people who may yet live together in harmony if only there be consciousness of mutual interdependence and loyalty to common democratic ideals. In the 1950's it seems to be clear that there can be no turning back of the clock, no retreat into nineteenth-

century isolationism, no escape from the responsibility of leadership that goes with world power. The work of the American public schools will need to be vastly extended if coming generations are to be enabled to comprehend the place of this great democracy in the milieu of a world society.

AMERICA ATTAINS WORLD LEADERSHIP

The easy victory over Spain in 1898 revealed to the rest of the world America's vast potentialities for peace and war. The outcome of World War I dispelled the possible doubt any nation may have entertained as to this country's potential industrial and military strength. The great European nations, victor as well as vanquished, were prostrated and America emerged as the most powerful nation on earth. Unconscious of a mission in world leadership Congress refused to join the League of Nations, as President Wilson had advised, and the administrations immediately succeeding his relied upon the Kellogg-Briand treaties to maintain the peace of the world.

The disastrous economic depression of the 1930's further reduced the economic strength of the European countries. There, the totalitarian state, appearing in Italy under the aegis of Fascism, and later in Germany under that of Nazism, was the recourse against economic ruin. Meanwhile, Russia was developing communistic totalitarianism as a variant solution. All these systems exalted the state above the individual; all sought security for the individual in a totalitarian overlordship.

The United Nations, when organized at the end of World War II, promised to provide a medium for resolving differences and promoting harmony among all nations. America, which twenty-five years earlier had refused to join the League of Nations, became a staunch supporter of the United Nations. Confident that the need for a strong military force was then unnecessary, the army was hastily disbanded. Too late, it was discovered that communistic Russia, fully armed and fostering imperialistic ambitions, was challenging the leadership of the world's democracies in the United Nations. In the 1950's the democratic world is again rearming to meet another threat of imperialistic domination. A draft of American youth for the armed forces is now on and Congress

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has under advisement a long-range plan for Universal Military Training.

THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM

From the date of its founding as a republic, America has jealously guarded its democratic institutions. At the conclusion of the Revolution the idea of a monarchy was definitely thrust aside. During the nineteenth century such communistic societies as the utopia of scientists at New Harmony, Indiana, and the Brook Farm experiment in Massachusetts, were frowned upon. Fifty years ago the rank and file of conservative citizens viewed with alarm the rise of the Socialist party. At the time of World War I leaders of radical movements were put into jail and some were deported.

The stress and strain of the depression years, however, directed attention to the reform of certain obvious inequalities in social and economic life. Liberal thinking, which in earlier years had exalted individualism, now veered to collectivism. Freethinkers in colleges and universities spoke of communism as an advanced form of democracy. So-called progressive educators openly expressed admiration for the plan of education employed during the 1920's in communistic Russia. Liberals of doubtful loyalty found employment in government service. Optimists voiced the opinion, "We can do business with Stalin!" The general public protested mildly but was otherwise unmoved.

The struggle against communism at home and abroad has now been brought into the open. Colleges and universities have purged their faculties of communists; subversive playwrights have been placed on trial; communist sympathizers in high government positions have been dismissed. The outbreak of hostilities in Korea brought on a crisis. The earlier tolerance of communism has now vanished.

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

MECHANIZED AGRICULTURE

On farms machinery took the place of hand labor to an extraordinary extent. Small farms ceased to be self-supporting and tenant

farming increased. The capitalistic influence on agriculture in the Middle West, as elsewhere, tended to destroy the independence of the small operator and to enhance the opportunity for large-scale production by wealthy individuals or corporations employing wage hands.¹ The mechanization of farming has been adequately summarized in a recently published history, as follows:

Almost every extensive farm had a tractor, and only the poor farmers in depressed areas lacked electricity or automobiles. In the corn and wheat states 90 per cent of the acreage was cultivated with tractors. The horse was becoming as rare as on city streets. As a result of motorization, better machines, and advances in agricultural science, a third fewer farmers and hired hands, using about the same number of acres for crops, were turning out half again as much product as before. One man in the wheat lands could do the work that had required three before World War I.²

“THE GRAPES OF WRATH”

The social implications of the capitalistic tendency in agriculture were observed by the historians Charles and Mary Beard³ as early as 1927 when they called attention to the fact that the sons and daughters of pioneer farmers were being forced to give up their farms and move to the cities. The sad plight of the Middle Western farmers was made more grievous by the drought of the 1930's which reduced a broad area of the prairie country to a dust bowl. The growing evils of the tenant system were again noted by the Beards a dozen years later, as follows:

Tenants wandered from farm to farm, from landlord to landlord, from region to region, on foot, in battered wagons, in dilapidated automobiles, commonly dragging families with them, usually to conditions lower in the scale of living than those from which they

¹ Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, II, 272-278.

² Merle Curti and others, *An American History*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950, II, 422.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 275-276.

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fled. . . . Having no long-term interest in the soil he tilled, and little or no capital, the tenant applied only those fertilizers calculated to yield a quick cash crop.⁴

The movement of the "Okies" from this area to California was the theme of John Steinbeck's famous novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, based on authentic observations. The depression legislation of the Roosevelt New Deal was directed toward the cure of these evils. The stabilization of production by the regulation of planting, the freeing of farmers from the hazards of fluctuating markets and seasons, the saving from foreclosure of farm homes under mortgage have been the objectives of various government agencies.

In more recent years the picture has brightened. World War II and the years that followed called for record-breaking crops. Under government bounty and favorable weather conditions prosperity has come to agriculture. The outcome of government regulation over a long term is now being awaited.

NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE NORTH

The demand for unskilled labor in the factories of the North and East during World War I attracted hosts of Negroes from the cotton and tobacco plantations of the South. The industrial demands of World War II stimulated a second migration in the 1940's. Northern cities were hard put to it to absorb the increase and Southern planters and housewives found it difficult to adjust their ways of living to the shortage of Negro labor. Mechanization of farms and homes in the South, as in other parts of the country, is now taking place. Motorized tractors, harvesting machines, seeders, and cotton pickers are rapidly increasing in number.

Social and economic conditions in the South are now changing rapidly. Large areas are being industrialized. Leaders are planning for a more nearly equal balance of agriculture with industry. Railroads and highways have opened up the country, clearing the way in,

⁴ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization: America in Midpassage*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939, III, 546-547.

as well as the way out. The earlier provincialism has been broken down. Relations between the races are more harmonious. The South is now enjoying greater prosperity than it has had since the Civil War.

THE DRIFT TO THE CITIES

The invention of labor-saving devices greatly increased the output of farms, mines, and mills; rapidly expanding systems of transportation further facilitated large-scale production. Markets for surplus products were found in foreign lands, and national wealth increased by leaps and bounds. American exports, which in 1914 were valued at less than two and a half billion dollars, amounted to over twelve billions in 1949.

Trading and manufacturing centers became congested with an influx of population not only from foreign lands but also from native rural districts. Only a few years ago the population of the country as a whole was overwhelmingly rural in character. In 1900, less than 40 per cent of the total population lived in cities of population of 2,500 or over; in 1944, 56½ per cent lived in such places. The population of the larger cities increased with the growth of industry. That of New York in 1950 almost reached 8,000,000. Los Angeles, which had only 102,500 in 1900, was approaching 2,000,000 at mid-century, and Detroit grew from 285,000 to 1,800,000 within the same period. Obviously numerous social adjustments were needed in order to provide a harmonious group life for such large heterogeneous aggregations.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION

Hosts of immigrants, needed for the operation of the booming industries, contributed to the population of the cities. These came largely from the backward European countries. Chiefly they were Italians, Greeks, Poles, Croats, Hungarians, and Russians. The flood was threatening to inundate American institutions when the Quota Law of 1924 made a drastic restriction of immigration.

The immigrants found employment chiefly in the manufacturing centers of the North Atlantic states and to some extent on the farms of the Middle West. The congestion of population in the Eastern cities

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was constituting a problem before 1900. The rapidly growing cities of the Middle West also were soon to feel the pressure of overcrowding. Housing conditions were deplorable. The foreigners found shelter in miserable tenements or in garrets and basements, a dozen or more sometimes occupying the same room. Here in poverty and squalor they led a wretched existence, bringing up hordes of poorly clad and under-nourished children to throng the dingy streets without.

Before the passage of the Quota Law the later immigrants came, to a considerable degree, from the lowest order of European society. Some of them were criminals; some were physically unfit and broken in spirit; many were unskilled in any trade; over 30 per cent were illiterate in 1907; nearly all were backward people, ignorant, and incapable of adjusting themselves readily to democratic society. They were useful only as factory workers or day laborers. Accustomed to a low standard of living, they were able to underbid American workmen in this field and thus drive down the wage level. All in all, the effect of unrestricted foreign immigration was degrading to American social life. Ideals of decency were lowered; the percentage of illiteracy mounted and crime increased despite the best efforts of schools and welfare agencies.

The situation furnished an opportunity for philanthropy. Early in the new century surveys of living conditions in the cities of Pittsburgh, New York, and Buffalo were being undertaken by social agencies such as the Russell Sage Foundation. In Chicago, Jane Addams established the Hull House Settlement for the betterment of workers in the stockyards. In New York, Jacob Riis interested himself in improving the environment of children growing up on the streets.

THE MELTING POT

The Irish and German immigrants of earlier generations, comparatively few in number, had soon been absorbed into the native population. In later years, the foreigners were of racial stocks different from our own and so numerous that they could not be readily assimilated. They formed colonies in the larger cities, where they continued to speak their own languages and follow the customs of the lands from which they came. Their main contact with American life

was too often through vicious leaders interested only in political exploitation. Even the schools were powerless to change them, for these institutions frequently served only the children of the foreign-born neighborhoods in which they were located. The familiar comparison of America to the melting pot of the nations was no longer an apt one. This fact was brought forcibly to the country's attention when the army was mobilized for World War I. Since that time the federal and local governments have been more solicitous about the assimilation of the foreign-born population. Night schools for the teaching of English were established and other measures for Americanization were undertaken.

IMPROVEMENT OF HEALTH CONDITIONS

Among the most significant achievements of modern times is the marked improvement of health conditions. Much of this advance may be attributed to scientific discoveries. It is difficult to comprehend the fact that anaesthetics were not used in surgery before the Civil War or that, as late as 1900, mail sent from areas quarantined for yellow fever was fumigated. The promulgation of the germ theory of disease by Pasteur and later scientists led to the eradication or control of such diseases as cholera, typhoid fever, yellow fever, malaria, tuberculosis, and the like. Modern sanitation also had a share in improving health conditions. The proper disposal of sewage, the filtration of water, the inspection of milk, and the screening of markets are now regarded as essential functions of local government. There have been marvelous advances in infant care and in dietetics for young and old alike. The schools work hand in hand with the health authorities, teaching children to observe the rules of hygiene and sanitation.

THE PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT

In cities, play was for many years limited by the lack of space; often no more ground was provided than that barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the schoolhouse. It was not until the eighties that the first sandbins were placed in a Boston mission. From this small beginning the movement grew. It was confined at first to playgrounds

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for very young children, but soon provision was made for older boys and girls. In 1888, seven Boston schoolyards were designated as playgrounds and were provided with bean bags, skipping ropes, balls, and tops as well as sandbins. These were opened to children of all ages.

In most instances the first playgrounds were sponsored by philanthropic organizations. The playground movement in Chicago had its beginning in a play center managed by Hull House. Following the example set by Jacob Riis in establishing suitable playgrounds for the children of New York City, cities generally began to realize their obligation in this matter. In 1900, Chicago appropriated \$10,000 for the equipment of playgrounds, and by 1910, 150 cities had them. The Playground and Recreation Association of America, formed in 1906, has done much to forward the movement.

The supervisors of the first playgrounds, or sand gardens, as they were called, were usually kindergarten teachers; but as the movement developed and older children came to use the playgrounds, a grade teacher or a physical training teacher was employed. Soon courses of study for prospective supervisors of play were offered in normal schools. The movement spread rapidly from city to city. In 1925, 748 cities reported 8,608 playgrounds, supervised by 7,178 men and 9,999 women.

RAPID TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

By the 1940's powerful diesel engines were replacing steam-driven locomotives, but automobiles, trucks, and busses on public highways were competing actively with the railroads for freight and passengers. Privately owned automobiles by this time were becoming more and more a factor in transportation. In 1953, when the population numbered 160,000,000, there were 54,700,000 automobiles on the road—practically one to every three persons. Commercial airlines, which were just being organized in the 1920's, now carry mail and freight as well as passengers. There were in 1950 thirty-seven domestic airlines operating 943 planes.

Long before 1900, communication by the telegraph was common throughout the country. By 1925, local and long distance telephone communication had become just as common. By 1953, 40,800,000 tele-

phones were in use. Radio has now entered nearly every home and television is available in most of the larger cities and towns. As a result of the extension of facilities for rapid transportation and communication remote sections of the country have been knit together. The Old South and the Old West have disappeared. There is much moving about, some in response to seasonal demands for labor, some in the interest of marketing produce, and some in obedience to the urge to see the country or enjoy a vacation.

UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY

The twentieth century has proved to be an era of unprecedented prosperity for America. But for the decade of the 1930's, and minor deviations downward before and after, the trend of profits, wages, and prices has been steadily upward. The value of products exported far outstripped the value of imports. Corporate earnings increased tremendously. Wages of both unskilled and skilled workers doubled and tripled. Greatly increased prices for farm products and steady markets brought a degree of prosperity unknown before to farmers. The severance of natural resources, chiefly coal, iron, gas, and oil, enriched many. Uninitiated thousands acquired sudden wealth. All sections of the country and all classes of society to some extent shared in this prosperity. From the angle of physical well-being the standard of living for the masses rose to the highest level ever experienced by man on earth.

CONCLUDING COMMENT: SECTIONS I, II

Social and political changes have proceeded hand in hand with changes in material affairs. The collective voice of organized units has become more powerful than that of individuals speaking for themselves. The base of the electorate has been widened to include women, first-generation immigrants, and Negroes in increasing numbers. The caste system, race relationships, and the traditional employer-employee relationships have been questioned and even modified.

America is experiencing growing pains in its attempt to adjust itself to the responsibilities of world leadership laid upon it in this generation. The challenge of communism to the democratic tradition

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is calling not only for the mustering of military strength, but for singleness of purpose in defense of the free enterprise system, and for the development of morale at home and abroad.

The improvement of facilities for transportation and communication has wrought a miracle in the socialization of America. The once remote regions of the South and West have been welded to the North and East. Crossing the continent, which a hundred years ago required months by steamboat or ox team, is now accomplished by airplane in a matter of hours. Communication by telephone and radio is instantaneous. Americans have learned more about their neighbors in distant states than their grandparents were able to learn in a lifetime about their neighbors in adjoining counties. Closer acquaintance has bred mutual understanding, sympathy, and tolerance. The extension of the same facilities to the utmost parts of the world has revealed to Americans the economy and cultures of populations heretofore unrecognized.

The rapid industrialization of the country calls for special comment. The development of world markets, the invention of labor-saving devices, corporate organization, large-scale production, and scientific management have contributed to the rise of a capitalistic society with all that this portends for good or ill. The country has assumed the outward aspect of great prosperity. On the one hand, large fortunes have fallen into the hands of the few and to a great extent the general level of well-being for the masses has been raised. On the other hand, the evils of the factory system are legion. The mechanization of agriculture and the drift to the cities, the problem of the foreign-born population, the absorption of small concerns by big business—all these factors tend to complicate the social situation and make for discontent.

III. CULTURE AND REALISM

IMPROVED LIVING CONDITIONS

The Machine Age witnesses not only a revolution in industry but a consequent revolution in private living conditions. Availability of automobile and bus transportation almost everywhere enables even those

in modest circumstances to come and go at will. Telephone communication and daily mail deliveries, which were rare fifty years ago, are now general in rural as well as urban communities. A more abundant supply of pure water promotes health and cleanliness. New methods of preserving, processing, and packaging of food, along with improved facilities for its distribution through chain stores permit many people to maintain throughout the year a balanced ration, including fresh fruits and vegetables. The housewife's duties have been simplified and immeasurably lightened by the introduction of time- and labor-saving gadgets. Home refrigerators, deep-freeze units, and more effective heating and ventilating devices contribute to health and comfort.

THINGS THAT MONEY CAN BUY

Standards of living have been increasingly determined by ownership of modern homes, automobiles, refrigerators, radios, electric fans, domestic labor-saving devices, and, more recently, air-conditioning units, and television sets. Higher wages, installment buying, and new methods of financing have placed many such things within reach of all except those in the lowest income bracket. More and more the standard of living has come to be determined by possession of things that money can buy.

Along with pride in ownership of the best and latest mechanical devices there has developed a new consciousness of physical fitness and personal charm. Much attention is devoted to reducing diets, to beauty culture, to psychiatric, surgical, and dental services, and to new forms of medication, all of which contribute to personal comfort, if not actually to robust health. The widespread demand for cosmetics, deodorants, and costume jewelry is a measure of the value being placed upon physical attractiveness.

NEW CULTURE VS. OLD CULTURE

At the beginning of the century generally accepted social conventions enabled men and women to move with ease and harmony among their fellows. Deference to the rights of others, approved habits of dress and personal hygiene, church affiliation, proper speech, acquaint-

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ance with current events, knowledge of English literature, and appreciation of the fine arts comprised the average man's conception of life at its best. The individual's culture, or lack of it, was measured by the degree of his sensitivity to, and observance of, these standards. Poise and grace resulting from leisurely action, unhurried speech, and a fine distinction between what was regarded as right and wrong or proper and improper were its outward manifestations.

As the second decade merged into the third there was widespread evidence that the old culture was being outmoded. The revolution in living conditions called for new relationships, new habits, new ideals. Faster means of communication and transportation demanded a quickening of the tempo of life. In matters of personal cleanliness, diet, hygienic dress, infant care, and physical fitness, the adjustment has been prompt, resulting in sweeping changes, all for the better.

Cultural values are now to be found in physical well-being more particularly than in spiritual satisfaction. The maxim "plain living and high thinking" which once characterized the life of the New England professional classes has ceased to be applicable either there or anywhere else in the United States. Even clergymen, physicians, and teachers, who, in former years, were expected to subsist largely upon the fruits of the spirit, have come to be regarded as laborers worthy of their hire.

Random observations of individual behavior tend to indicate that traditional culture is apparently on the decline. The yearning for it is not so prevalent as it was in the horse-and-buggy days. The mores affecting behavior have in many cases been outmoded. Formal dinner customs of other days can hardly be observed in the automat, the cafeteria, or the delicatessen. The tabloid, the reader's digest, the comic magazine are superseding the older types of literature designed for persons with abundant leisure.

A realistic age prefers a sincere, direct approach—even though brutally frank—to artifice and hypocrisy. The new woman does not espouse traditional culture so zealously as did her mid-Victorian ancestor. Today the relationship between the sexes is much more informal. All this is said with due consideration of the fact that many of the criteria of culture are now the criteria of health, hygiene, and common decency taught all children in the public schools and observed with a fair degree of uniformity by the general public; in consideration

also of the fact that formal social practices are now being disseminated more widely than ever before by the new mediums, radio, motion pictures, and television. A new culture, salvaging the best ideals and practices of the old, and adapted to democratic ideals, is now in process, though yet to be completely achieved.⁵

AVAILABILITY OF THE LITERARY HERITAGE

The literary heritage of the present, combining that part which is being imported with the part that is being currently produced by native authors, is amazingly abundant. A question which normally arises at this point is: To what extent are Americans taking advantage of this heritage? This is the same question that was raised with reference to the availability of the heritage of English literature in the seventeenth century. It will be answered in the same way that it was answered in Chapter One, by an inquiry as to the character of the books being written, as to the number of people able and willing to read, and as to adequacy of libraries and other facilities for reading.

In recent years America has become an avid consumer of whatever Europe has to offer in the way of literature. English publishing houses with offices in New York have released their better offerings in both countries simultaneously. Translations from the French and German have become available to the American public almost as soon as the originals appeared in those countries. It may now be said with confidence that America is taking the best from the present-day European heritage.

AN INDIGENOUS LITERATURE

The trend in literary composition has been toward the indigenous. This is true with reference to theme, locale, and form. The exacting requirements of formal diction imposed by the nineteenth-century British classicists became more and more irksome to American writers.

⁵ Stuart G. Noble, "Are Americans Growing in Culture?" *School and Society*, May 17, 1941, pp. 621-625.

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Youthful spirits experimented with free verse. A crisp, natural, journalistic prose style has superseded the balanced phrases and labored periods of the meticulous old-time word artists. Twentieth-century America has declared its literary independence. Europe has recognized this independence in its selection of such outstanding American novelists as Sinclair Lewis and William Faulkner as Nobel Prize winners.

REALISM IN LITERATURE

The realistic trend in American literature was well on the way by the second decade of the new century. Novelists in the guise of "muck-rakers" revealed meanness in the operation big business, and the crudity and ugliness of life in the industrial communities. Realism, as represented in the works of Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway, and Sinclair Lewis, virtually supplanted sentimental romance in the 1920's. More recently, Southern and Western writers, such as Steinbeck, Faulkner, Caldwell, and Lillian Smith, have uncovered the seamy side of life in the farming areas of the country. American literature has thus passed into a realistic phase.

NEW MAGAZINES

The character of the reading materials at present varies all the way from comic magazines, mystery and detective stories, novels of adventure, love, and courtship, to historical themes of the type of *Gone With the Wind*, novels having to do with social reforms, and treatises on scientific and philosophical subjects. Magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *Liberty*, *Time*, *Fortune*, and the pocket-size *Reader's Digest* cater to the various new interests of the expanded reading public. The pictorials, *Look*, *Life*, *Pic*, and many others, offer color and photographic appeal. In fact, nearly all publications, including books, magazines, commercial leaflets, and the like, are illustrated.

The various trades and professions now publish their own journals. Magazines of the type of the *Popular Science Monthly* and the *National Geographic* vie for circulation with numerous sports and ad-

venture issues and motion picture and radio magazines. Attractive art features in most current publications enhance the appeal made to the reading interest.

THE ELIMINATION OF ILLITERACY

As to the proportion of the population able and willing to read, there is evidence in statistics of illiteracy and school attendance. For many years the United States Census Bureau computed the percentage of illiteracy every decade. We thus have a measure of literacy for the adult population ten years of age and over that may be regarded as fairly reliable for the period covered. Reference has already been made to the low percentage of illiteracy in New England prior to the Civil War, and to the relatively high percentages in the pioneer regions and in the South (see p. 150). For the period we are now studying, the percentage for the country as a whole declined from 20 per cent in 1870 to 4.3 per cent in 1930. The decline was most rapid in states where facilities for public education were quickly set up, as in the states of the Middle West and the Far West. It was slowest in the South and Southwest where the race question made more difficult the problem of operating schools for the sparsely settled farm population. The progressive extension of the public school system and the mortality of aged illiterates are factors that will tend still further to reduce illiteracy in future years.

READING ABILITY

The ability barely to read as implied in literacy does not necessarily mean that the person who has it will use it. As a matter of fact, only persons who are able to read with reasonable ease and a fair degree of comprehension may be expected to read very much. Such ability calls for a considerable amount of schooling if it is to function smoothly. Thus, the extent to which the literary heritage is likely to be taken over is in direct ratio to the amount of schooling any particular generation may have received. A sociologist recently presented the facts over the years, as follows:

The expansion of education is shown by the fact that in 1800 the average person had only 82 days of schooling during his lifetime; in 1850, 321 days; and in 1900, it had reached 998 days—the approximate equivalent of five school years. . . . More men in the army of the 1940's had completed high school than had completed eighth grade in 1917–18. The average soldier of World War I had completed only the sixth grade; in World War II he had just entered his junior year of high school.⁶

So far as school attendance may be regarded as an indication of ability to take advantage of the literary heritage, the evidence tends to show that the present generation is far better off than any previous generation. This statement stands after one makes due allowance for glaring reading deficiencies that recent investigations have revealed in students on the high school and college levels. There remains to be considered evidence of the extent to which people today seek and buy reading materials supposedly with the intention of reading them.

AVAILABILITY OF READING MATERIALS

It has been estimated that in 1940 the American people spent upward of one billion dollars for books, magazines, and other reading materials. Two thirds of this amount was spent on books. In that year, 5,000 magazines had a circulation of 140,000,000 copies, and 1,700 newspapers reached 40,000,000 people every day. The number of school and college textbooks bought and used may be best measured by the vast number of students enrolled in institutions of learning throughout the country.

Free reading materials have been made available by the extension of library facilities. Regular libraries circulated more than 400,000,000 books in 1940 and lending libraries in corner drugstores a number too great to estimate. In 1875 there were only about 2,000 private circulating libraries in towns and cities. Early in the new century Andrew Carnegie gave a decided impetus to the founding of municipal

⁶ Francis J. Brown, *Educational Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1947, pp. 259–260.

and college libraries by contributing substantial amounts toward building or endowment.

SCHOOL, COLLEGE, AND COMMUNITY LIBRARIES

In contrast with the meager facilities common in even the better communities at the end of the century, it may be noted that thirty-seven leading cities in 1929 reported the circulation of 114,000,000 volumes. Now there are small-town and county libraries even in the backward areas. In many counties "bookmobiles" deliver books to rural readers. In the meantime, facilities for research and reading in the large universities have expanded at a marvelous rate. The Harvard Library now contains over two and a half million volumes; Yale, Columbia, and the University of Chicago have from one to more than two million volumes. State and regional accrediting agencies now require their members, whether on the secondary or higher level, to have well-stocked libraries. In most of the states the better elementary schools also have libraries equipped with reference books, collateral reading books, textbooks, atlases, and so forth.

Undoubtedly there is at present a wide and tremendously varied reading public. There is probably much more reading for entertainment than for information. Whether there has developed any considerable degree of appreciation of profound thinking and the better stylistic qualities of the authors it would be hard to say. Very likely, among the hosts of readers, many more Americans are selecting serious treatises for reading than ever before. Doubtless, by the same token, the best thought in the literary heritage is being conserved and carried forward. The present widespread organization of study groups for the reading and discussion of "The Great Books" tends to support this conclusion. Considering the extent to which the telephone, radio, motion pictures, and television are competing with the printed word as mediums of communication and recreation one should not hastily interpret a possible neglect of reading as an indication of the decline of culture. As a matter of fact, a public that freely employs all of the mediums may prove to be better informed and more highly entertained than one dependent upon reading alone.

PRESENT APPRECIATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC
HERITAGE

Science has come to determine modern thought and living conditions to a greater extent, perhaps, than has any other factor in our civilization. The late Arthur Brisbane, one of the first newspaper columnists, used to extol the achievements and future prospects of modern science in his column. Again and again, he enjoined his readers to accept his conviction that an age of boundless achievement lay ahead, for man had discovered the art of invention, he declared, and whatever man could imagine, that he could do. Brisbane was not alone in his adulation of science. He was merely riding the crest of the scientific movement and adding his voice to that of a multitude of modern thinkers. His ideas are reminiscent of Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* and of the writings of the eighteenth-century physiocrats with their faith in the indefinite perfectibility of the human race. These writings vaguely prophesied present-day scientific achievements.

The advance of science over the past fifty years has not been confined to the application of long-established principles to practical affairs, but has been signalized by the discovery of many new principles. In 1900, the General Electric Company established at Schenectady, New York, the first research laboratory in basic science under industrial auspices. Other large corporations provided research facilities in the years that followed. Now, these, as well as the laboratories of the great universities and of the federal agencies, are delving into the mysteries of pure science as diligently as they are seeking to find new applications of established principles. Significant new discoveries are now being made in every area, notably in medical science through experimentation with vitamins and the antibiotic "wonder" drugs, in electronics, and in harnessing the energy released through splitting the atom.

The application of the principles of science to industry and agriculture was touched upon in the preceding section. These principles, as applied, have revolutionized methods of production, transportation, and communication, and have forced drastic changes in the habits and customs of the home and community.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

Today, there seems to be a tendency to meet the religious problems of the new age frankly and reduce the areas of conflict by sincere reflection. Churches of all denominations have built "educational" buildings and provided modern facilities for teaching and recreation. Religious education includes the training of teachers in the organization and administration of Sunday schools, the development of methods of instruction, and the provision of extracurricular activities for adults as well as children of the several age groups. Churches are becoming social centers in most communities.

Whether modified by the influence of science or other conditions, there is observable a certain drifting away from many ideas and practices which once bore the sanction of tradition. Although many communities have been shaken by the evangelistic fervor of men like Billy Sunday, "Gypsy" Smith, and Billy Graham, old-fashioned revivals are not typical of the times. Preachers are appealing more to reason than to the emotions, and doctrinal disputes are not so prevalent or so acrid as formerly. There is an increasing demand for an educated ministry. Religion is allying itself increasingly with social service. Vast sums are spent on home and foreign missions. Many ministers broadcast their sermons by radio. All in all, the churches are responding realistically to the spirit of the age.

HOME TIES WEAKENED

The process of industrialization made sweeping changes in the home and in the home life. Farmers left their homesteads to engage in business or to work in factories in cities. Many of those remaining lost their land and were reduced to tenancy. Urban life removed the vocations from the home. Husband, wife, and older children went to separate places to work at different occupations. Children of rural areas were transported great distances to attend school.

The influence of the home has been further weakened by changing attitudes toward marital relations. Divorces are increasing at an alarming rate. Whereas, in 1890, there was one divorce to every six-

teen marriages, in 1900, there was one to every twelve, and, in 1940, one to every six. The general public has joined the sociologists in expressing grave concern. Courts of domestic relations have been established in many places; counseling couples in marital difficulties has become a profession; courses in marriage and domestic relations have been established in colleges and high schools. Notwithstanding these efforts, the problem of preserving the home is yet far from being solved.

With home ties loosened, the family lost much of its effectiveness as a social, religious, and educational agency. The influence of family tradition declined. In a period of transition, confused or negligent parents permitted their children to grow up without moral discipline. Agencies, such as motion pictures, radio, television, commercialized recreations, and comic magazines, came to exercise a pronounced influence upon youth. In more recent years, the extracurricular activities of the school and the recreational practices of the churches and social agencies are providing facilities for the welfare of youth under more salutary auspices.

ART BECOMES SELF-SUPPORTING

The ample fortunes of the Gilded Age brought employment to American artists. This stimulation to effort evoked the talent of such men as La Farge, Whistler, Sargent, Innis, and Saint-Gaudens. The demand for the application of art to industry in later years enabled an increasing number of artists to make a living in that field. In New York City, by 1925, 20,000 persons, according to one estimate, were gainfully employed painting, drawing, or sculpturing.⁷ The boom in the art movement, however, reached its end with the stock-market crash in 1929. For several years thereafter professional artists roamed the streets hunting for work.⁸ Relief came through the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration which provided work for needy artists

⁷ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, II, 781.

⁸ "By 1935 the number of unemployed musicians, painters, sculptors, architects, writers, playwrights, actors, and dancers had grown to such an extent that the country faced the possibility of an utter collapse in the art movement." Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *America in Midpassage*, p. 775.

and stimulated interest in art throughout the country. Since World War II the building industry has flourished and prosperity has returned to artists, architects, and craftsmen.

Altogether there are at present about ninety museums in cities throughout the country. Most of these have art schools in which the expressional as well as the appreciative features are cultivated.

The spirit of the times affected the trend of art in much the same way that it affected literature. Since about 1880 there has been a steady movement away from the conventional and toward realistic ideals. Artists are coming to recognize an obligation to give a sincere interpretation of the industrial era in which they live. Cubism, futurism, and vorticism are aspects of modernistic art that indicate the trend. The Beards have aptly described the realistic trend in the art of the period:

Near to the earth and often of the earth earthy the main body of artists worked to interpret what they felt and saw as life, experience, struggle, and ideal. In their media, in oils and water colors, in bronze, wood, stone, marble, and alabaster . . . in steel, glass, and fabricated materials, they spoke their minds about human nature, human behavior, and human purposes in society.⁹

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC

American music made an inconspicuous beginning about the time of World War I in the syncopated rhythms based on Negro spirituals, first called "ragtime" or "jazz." The vogue of "swing" followed. The new rhythms became immensely popular and spread to all parts of the world. In them we have the only original contribution which America has made to music. Jazz is a manifestation of realism in music, reflecting the spirit of the times.

The Federal Music Project of the depression years collected folk music from the hills and isolated mountain regions of the Appalachians, Negro spirituals from the cotton fields of the South, and Mexican and Spanish songs from the deserts of the Southwest. Hillbilly

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 748.

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music along with swing came to dominate the popular field during the second war period. Native music shared space with the classical on programs planned for sophisticated audiences. While the traditional European symphonies and operas continued to claim time on the radio networks, music by the native composers, Jerome Kern, the Gershwins, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, and others, were presented by the leading orchestras and sung by the idols of the screen and air.

The demand for background music in motion picture productions and radio dramas provided a new outlet for music composers. It may be added in conclusion of this topic that American music is "radically different" from what it was at the beginning of the century. The standard of the native product is being raised by contributions of the composers, Charles Ives, Roy Harris, Aaron Copland, and many others.¹⁰

DRAMA OF THE STAGE, SCREEN, AND AIR

The theater was commercialized. The old-time stock companies were risky business ventures, but astute promoters of later days, speedily discovering the new public's craving for thrills, laughs, and tears, ordered a dramatic output to meet this demand. Brilliant lighting effects, gorgeous costuming, dazzling scenic displays, and risqué lines all contributed to the new show. The object was to secure emotional release rather than induce intellectual stimulation. A not too discriminating public paid the bills and asked for more.

The realistic trend in American drama, beginning with Eugene O'Neill, was carried forward by such outstanding playwrights as Elmer Rice, Maxwell Anderson, Thornton Wilder, and others. The American scene and the American spirit were portrayed in George M. Cohan's Broadway slang.¹¹

The coming of the motion picture completely commercialized and mechanized the drama. The cheapness of the output placed pictures within the reach of all, but, in the earlier years, a popular demand for slapstick and custard-pie comedy tended to degrade taste and drive out

¹⁰ Aaron Copland, *Our New Music*, Whittlesey House, New York, N.Y., 1941, Part II.

¹¹ Barrett H. Clark and George Freedley, eds., *A History of Modern Drama*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1947, Chapter XIII.

the more serious type of play. The Machine Age achieved a significant triumph when talking pictures were perfected in the 1920's, for they closed legitimate theaters almost everywhere outside New York. More recently technicolor has been added. The public is now being treated as a matter of course to gorgeous spectacles like *Quo Vadis?* and to the marvelous fantasies of Walt Disney.

Radio has brought dramas into every home, and television plays are now available for many. Motion picture celebrities appear also on the national broadcasts. Comic programs, Westerns, and murder mysteries are presented, indiscriminately, along with problem plays, the traditional classics, and the current screen dramas.

Within the last two decades the commercial interests in control of motion pictures seem to be seriously concerned about improving the public taste. Historical events and the great dramas of other years are being featured to a more considerable extent than was the case a few years ago. The producers are sensing the educational possibilities of pictures and are coming to accept a degree of responsibility for cultural improvement. Motion pictures were used by the federal government for propaganda purposes in foreign countries during World War II. For his work in achieving hemispheric solidarity in Latin America at that time, Walt Disney was acclaimed by some "the greatest living educator."

RÉSUMÉ

There can be not the slightest doubt that Americans, as a rule, are better fed, better clad, and better housed than any people on earth. They work shorter hours and at easier tasks. They attend school longer and have better facilities for health, recreation, and cultural advancement. They enjoy a degree of personal freedom never experienced by any people in the history of mankind. The extension of these benefits to the unfortunate minority not yet reached is the task of the future.

The reverse of the shield is not so bright. The weaknesses and vices to which the human race is heir have not been eliminated. Abundance has not lessened greed and avarice; plenty has too often promoted self-indulgence and debauchery in both sexes. Generosity does not always go hand in hand with wealth. Selfishness is still the besetting

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sin. Offensiveness masquerades as frankness. Gentleness and graciousness, the distinguishing marks of traditional culture, are too frequently unobserved. A more wholesome adjustment to the conditions of modern life, however, will doubtless come with time.

The spirit of objectivity and materialism engendered by the twin forces, science and industrialization, interfuses society. The earlier romanticism went to seed in sentimentality and has given way to realism. The handcraftsman regards it as a matter of course when the machine deprives him of his trade. The debtor, facing foreclosure, finds what consolation he may in the current expression, "business is business." The poet and the novelist have discovered that bald truth is stranger than fiction. The dramatist no longer idealizes his characters or his plot. The artist paints true but ugly faces, factories, and landscapes. The musician has caught and interpreted the elementary emotions of the common man. The churchman faces the facts of life as it is being lived. Machinery sets the pace of the times and gives the tone to thought. Such is the spirit of modern realism. Its effect upon education will be observed in later chapters.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Prepare to discuss the industrialization of the South and its effect upon the traditional manner of living in that section.
2. Prepare to discuss the urbanization of the rural populations recently displaced by the mechanization of the farms.
3. To what extent does the improvement of facilities for transportation and communication in your section make the cultural facilities of the cities available to country people?
4. Will America revert to a policy of isolationism within the foreseeable future?
5. How may America promote good feeling between this country and foreign countries?
6. Make a detailed study of present realistic tendencies in: (a) literature; or (b) drama of the stage and screen; or (c) music or art.
7. Make an inventory of the traits of traditional culture. Examine your list and answer the question: Are Americans growing in culture?

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

School Progress since 1900

MORE AND BETTER SCHOOLS FOR DEMOCRACY

By 1930 the long-cherished ideal of universal education of elementary and secondary grade had virtually been realized. Public schools then enrolled more than 88 per cent of all the children between the ages of seven and seventeen and public funds contributed nearly 80 per cent of all school expenditures. The phenomenal increase in the enrollment of public high schools is commented upon elsewhere (see p. 400). America's faith in public schools is also indicated by the doubling of expenditures for school purposes every decade from 1880 to 1930.

In 1950 the outlay for schools by all government agencies, federal, state, and local, reached the stupendous total of \$5,837,000,000. Over 33,000,000 pupils, according to an estimate of the United States Office of Education for the session of 1951-1952, enrolled in about 250,000 public schools of all levels. In 1880, when school terms averaged six and a half months, children attended less than two thirds of the time. In 1950, the average daily attendance was 88.7 per cent for a term a little less than nine months in length. The number of schools did not increase in the same ratio as enrollment, and, owing to the tendency toward consolidation there was actually a decline of 24,000 schools in the decade of the 1930's. By 1950, nearly 7,000,000 children were being transported to and from school and fewer than 60,000 one-teacher

schools remained in the whole country. In that year, more than a million boys and girls graduated from high school.

In 1880, the number of teachers was almost equally divided between men and women. The proportion of women continued to increase until in 1930 eight out of ten teachers were women.¹ In urban elementary schools there are at present practically no men teachers, and in the high schools the ratio of men to women is exceedingly low. Small salaries are partly responsible for the feminization of the teaching body.

TEACHERS' SALARIES

Teachers' salaries have never been adequate. City superintendents and principals of the better schools at the beginning of the century fared better than classroom teachers, who were in the majority of cases unmarried women often dependent upon their families when the schools closed for the summer vacation. Urban teachers were better paid than were teachers in the rural districts, and teachers in the industrial states of the North and East received more than those of the farming states of the South and West.

The draft for World War I reduced still further the small number of young men employed as teachers. At the conclusion of this war many of these refused to return to the schools because of low salaries and higher living costs. Local campaigns to increase salaries brought some relief, and the hardships of high prices were somewhat ameliorated for teachers during the years of "Coolidge prosperity." Later, the depression of the 1930's bore heavily upon school finances and those dependent upon them.

World War II again stripped the schools of young men teachers and this time took away for war work and military service many of the ablest young women as well. The wages of teachers who remained with the schools were not appreciably increased. Inflation at the end of the war again threatened the existence of the schools. Local agitations were then combined into a national movement for school betterment through efforts of the National Education Association and the National

¹ The proportion of men teachers in 1940 was 19.7, according to statistics of the United States Office of Education.

Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools. As a result, salaries have indeed risen, but the increase has not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living, comparable pay raises in related fields, improvement in standards of living, length of training, and the exacting personal requirements demanded of teachers. The average annual salary in 1950 was \$3,010, but in six Southern states it still averaged something below \$2,000.

THE RELATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO EDUCATION

There is no national system of schools in the United States. The federal government had from the beginning maintained the attitude of an "interested and benevolent spectator," leaving each state free to develop its own school system according to its own will. In line with this policy the separate commonwealths have come to regard education as their right and responsibility. From time to time, however, the national government has found occasion to place restrictions upon the disposal of its land grants and to safeguard the interests of education in the constitutions of the newer states. It has also found it necessary to specify the conditions upon which funds allocated to education under the Morrill Act, the Smith-Hughes Act, and similar acts of Congress, should be expended. Although ready to accept outside funds, the states, as a rule, have been loath to surrender to the federal government any portion of their authority over the schools. Upon this ground, the Smith-Towner Bill, the Sterling-Towner Bill, and several more recent proposals for the distribution of large appropriations to the states, were defeated in Congress. During the years of the depression the states were more willing, however, to accept funds to keep the schools open.²

The question of whether the federal government should, as a matter of public policy, extend financial aid to the states in support of education still remains to be answered. Within recent years the issue, instead of being clarified by discussion, has become more confused. There is no agreement as yet as to whether both rich and poor states are

² Federal aid to the states for this purpose during the fiscal years 1934 and 1935 amounted to \$22,000,000. In addition to this the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works authorized grants amounting to \$263,000,000 for the repair and construction of schoolhouses.

to receive aid, as to whether higher institutions are to be aided along with the secondary and elementary, as to whether private and sectarian schools are to share in the funds, or as to whether the funds are to be appropriated for instruction only, for buildings and equipment only, or for both.

The federal government, which has long fostered educational activities in the administration of its insular possessions, in the Canal Zone, the Department of War, the Navy Department, and Indian affairs, entered another important field in the 1930's. In order to furnish employment and improve the morale of young people between the ages of seventeen and twenty-four Congress established, in 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps and, in 1935, the National Youth Administration. The first of these gave employment and furnished vocational education to about 1,800,000 young men; the second provided funds for part-time employment for over 100,000 young men and women annually, many of whom found it possible to continue their education at the same time. Both of these activities were temporary expedients and were not continued after the restoration of stable economic conditions.

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

Although the federal government has no control over state school systems through congressional aid, except in the few instances already mentioned, it has from time to time determined state policies through decisions of the United States Supreme Court. When the legislature of Oregon passed an act compelling all children, regardless of the wishes of their parents or guardians, to attend public schools, the act, which would have virtually abolished parochial and other private schools in that state, was declared unconstitutional. In 1940, the Court upheld the right of Pennsylvania to expel children who refused to salute the national flag; but in a West Virginia case, three years later, it reversed this decision. It permitted the state of New Jersey in 1947 to continue the practice of transporting children to and from private schools at public expense. It forbade religious instruction in public school buildings in Illinois in 1948, but upheld "released time" for religious instruction in New York in 1952. In decisions ranging from 1935 to 1950 several Southern states were required to furnish equal ad-

vantages of professional education to Negroes, or else admit properly qualified candidates to the respective state universities.³

The loose ties binding the federal government to the states in matters relating to the schools are revealed in the history of the United States Office of Education. Organized as a "Department" under a Commissioner of Education in 1867, it was authorized to collect data and publish information pertaining to the status of the schools in the several states. The Department was later reduced to the position of a bureau in the Interior Department.⁴ As such, it has, through the years, served mainly as a clerical office, sharing few of the extensive administrative activities in which the government has engaged. From time to time, under the leadership of the National Education Association, efforts have been made to concentrate all the educational interests of the government in this office and raise it to the status of a department with cabinet rank. Both the National Advisory Committee, appointed by President Hoover in 1929, and the President's Advisory Committee, appointed by President Roosevelt in 1936, made this recommendation. The growing importance of this function of the federal government would seem to justify some such form of centralized control.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

The South was the last section of the United States to attain universal education. Handicapped by a late start, it nevertheless has lately made a proportionately greater advance than any other portion of the country. After fifty years, prosperity returned to this section, and with it a new appreciation of public education. The crusade launched in the nineties met a hearty response in every Southern state. The movement was furthered by the well-conceived policy of Northern philanthropic agencies. The General Education Board financed by John D. Rockefeller, paid the salaries of a supervisor of secondary education, a supervisor of rural schools, a supervisor of Negro schools, and a supervisor

³ Edgar W. Knight, *Readings in American Educational History*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1950. The decisions referred to are quoted in full. See index.

⁴ Its present status is that of Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

of vocational education, on the staff of the state superintendent in each of these states. The John F. Slater Fund aided in the industrial education of Negroes. The Jeanes Fund furnished trained supervisors for Negro schools in many communities. Between 1913 and 1930, the Julius Rosenwald Fund assisted, to the extent of \$25,000,000, in the building of 5,075 schoolhouses for Negroes. The cordial cooperation of the states and the local communities in these activities resulted in better feeling between the races, and marked progress in the education of both whites and Negroes.

There was a noteworthy advance in providing facilities for secondary education. The growth of public high schools in the South is indicated by the statistics of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. At the date of the organization of this association (1896), which accepts only the better high schools for membership, only thirteen high schools were accredited, and of these, only two were public. As late as 1912, there were only five accredited public high schools. By 1951, the total number reached 1,216, of which most were public, an astonishingly rapid development in a comparatively short period. And this is but the list of the better high schools. In addition, there are now hundreds of state-approved high schools that have not attained the standards of the Southern Association. Public high schools for Negroes, unheard of in 1900, are now in existence in the larger towns and cities, and secondary training schools have been opened in many counties.

The South was so far behind at the beginning of the century that it has still a long way to go in order to catch up with the rest of the country. Professor Knight thus measured the relative standing of the Southern states among the states of the union:

Measured by its own record, however, the educational progress of the South since 1900 has been remarkable. For example, in 1900 the value of all public school property in North Carolina, which since that time has probably done as well as any Southern state or better, was approximately \$1,000,000 and in that year it expended a similar amount to maintain its public schools. Today its school property is valued at nearly \$100,000,000 and its annual bill for public-school support is above \$35,000,000. The other Southern states have made corresponding if not always as great advances.

Measured by its needs and by national standards however, the South is not yet an educationally advanced section of the country. The Southern state which has made the greatest progress should do twice as much as it now does for the maintenance of its schools in order to rank educationally even as an *average* state among the forty-eight—a place to which not a single Southern state has yet attained.⁵

MOUNTING COSTS OF THE SCHOOLS

For the country as a whole, expenditures for buildings, equipment, and other purposes, have doubled every decade since 1900. These expenses have claimed an ever-increasing share of the total amount available for the schools. The cost of a pupil's schooling for 1930 amounted to \$108.49, whereas in 1900 it had amounted to but \$20.21. When the years of the depression came on, these colossal costs raised a question in the minds of many as to the ability of the government to continue meeting the demands of the schools. In some states drastic reductions were made in appropriations, salaries were cut to the quick, and school terms were shortened. Had not the federal government come to the rescue with funds to supplement the state and local revenues, the schools would have suffered even greater privations. It is encouraging to note that today the schools are being more amply provided for than was the case in former years. The median yearly cost of a pupil's education, on the basis of average daily attendance, was \$178.71 in the year 1948.

Public education has undertaken to provide for individual interests, vocational needs, and social deficiencies. Kindergartens, trade schools, continuation schools, and schools for the defective and feeble-minded now come under its purview. Courses in music and art cultivate the taste as well as the skill of children who wish to take advantage of them. Auditoriums, laboratories, radio and public address systems, and libraries are necessary parts of the equipment of most large public schools. Such expensive facilities are not to be found in any other country of the world.

⁵ Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1929, pp. 489–490. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.



Hedrich-Blessing

Community Consolidated School, Palatine, Illinois, 1949

The mounting costs of the schools do not necessarily point, as many people think, toward extravagance. Although there has been the usual waste in the administration of public funds, the increased costs tend to reflect an enlarged conception of the responsibilities now being laid upon the schools. The demand for buildings to accommodate the rapidly expanding school population can hardly be denied. The state compulsory attendance laws are being more rigidly enforced, and the upper limits have in such states as Michigan and California been raised to eighteen years. The shifting of the population from rural to urban areas and the development of larger units of supervision have called for the erection of many new buildings. Modern structures, properly lighted, heated, ventilated, and located on ample grounds, are regarded as necessary, even if these requirements must be met at the price of increased tax levies.

Since World War II the public schools are receiving nation-wide publicity. Men of means and influence have acclaimed them the nurseries of democracy. Newspapers and popular periodicals have featured their needs. Radio broadcasting networks have given them a generous

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allotment of time. The National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools has been conducting a campaign for more adequate moral and financial support. Never before has the general public been so solicitous about the common schools.

SCHOOL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUPILS' HEALTH

Since 1918 every state in the union has carried a compulsory attendance law on its statute books. In the passage of such laws the states have tacitly assumed an obligation to see that nothing in the environment of the school may impair the health or endanger the lives of the children. This obligation calls not only for the provision of safe and sanitary buildings, but for ample playgrounds, a supply of pure water, and the proper observance of other hygienic considerations. It further calls for the medical inspection of children, and the prevention of transmissible diseases by vaccination or inoculation.

Responsibility for the health of the school child, once recognized, justifies the maintenance of gymnasiums, swimming pools, baths, and the like, with which the better schools are now equipped. It warrants the operation of special classes in sight-saving, classes for the hard of hearing, and classes for the retarded and subnormal. It also justifies the maintenance of facilities for hot lunches and, in some cases, the free provision of food and milk for the poor and undernourished. Congress assists the school lunch programs in the several states, in 1948 furnishing \$54,000,000, or about half the total cost in both public and private schools. Expenditures to meet this enlarged responsibility have contributed to school costs. Democracy seems inclined to accept this responsibility and pay for it.

RAPID GROWTH OF HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Public high schools, which in 1890 numbered hardly 3,000 with a total enrollment of about 200,000 pupils, in 1932 amounted in the aggregate to 25,000 schools with an enrollment in excess of 5,000,000. By the latter date, facilities for secondary education were available for practically all children desiring to seek its advantages, whether living in sparsely settled rural communities or in the densely populated urban

centers. Children of the farming population have been transported to large centrally located consolidated schools, and city children have been cared for in buildings which house from 1,000 to 10,000 pupils. Magnificent new schoolhouses, equipped with laboratories, libraries, shops, auditoriums, gymnasiums, and all modern conveniences, are now the pride of rural as well as urban communities.

The demands made upon the schools have been staggering. The growth of the high school enrollment has been far in excess of the growth of population. Almost three-fourths of the population of high school age, or about 8,000,000 boys and girls, are now enrolled in public and private secondary schools. To an increasing extent the lower occupational levels are represented in high school enrollments. Increasing numbers of the "intellectually less competent youth" are remaining in school.⁶ Of those who go to high school some continue through the full course and then either go on to college or enter one of the vocations. Many others drop out before finishing the four-year course, but all look hopefully to the schools for preparation to meet the contingencies of adult life.

The problem of furnishing meaningful education to such large unselected groups has proved vexing indeed. Democracy demands that all receive an equal opportunity, but not necessarily the same instruction. The financial burden, as we found during the years of the depression, was almost insupportable. But even more baffling than this is the problem of adjusting instruction to individual needs, particularly when such vast numbers are concerned. Standardization and regimentation, effective though it is in the large-scale production of factories, when applied to school administration has tended to defeat its own ends.

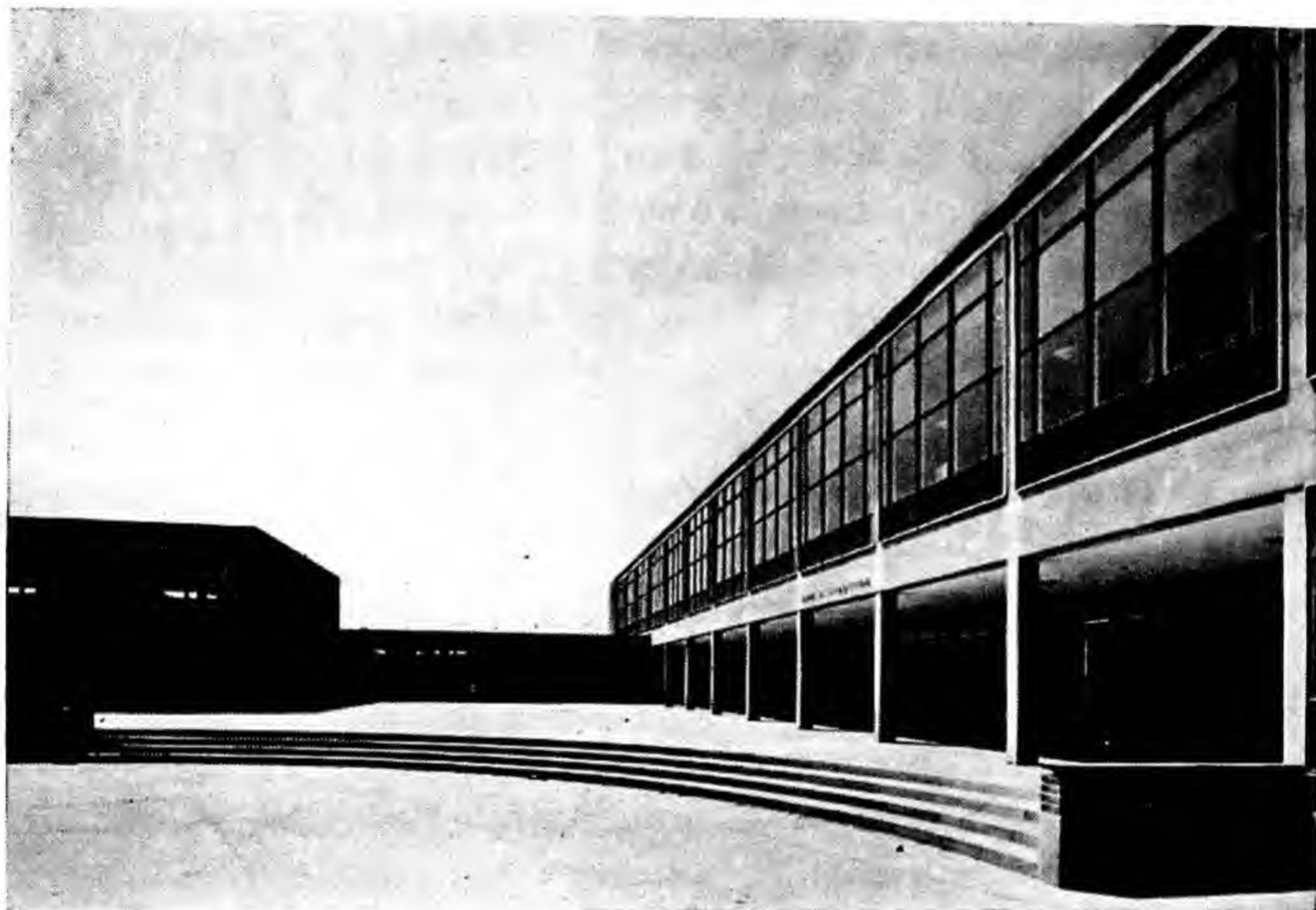
UNDERLYING THEORY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The practices of secondary education have been determined by the interplay of conservative and liberal forces. Exponents of the conservative element have been found chiefly among teachers of the traditional subjects and among the authorities in control of college entrance require-

⁶ *The National Survey of Secondary Education*. Monograph No. 1, Summary, United States Office of Education, Bulletin No. 17, 1932, Chap. V.

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ments. The liberal group has numbered its adherents among teachers of the newer subjects and among school administrators responsive to current social demands. The conservatives have stoutly maintained their allegiance to the traditional ideals of culture and discipline; the liberals have just as vigorously advocated the doctrine of practical utility. Holding a commanding position at the gateway of the colleges, the conserva-

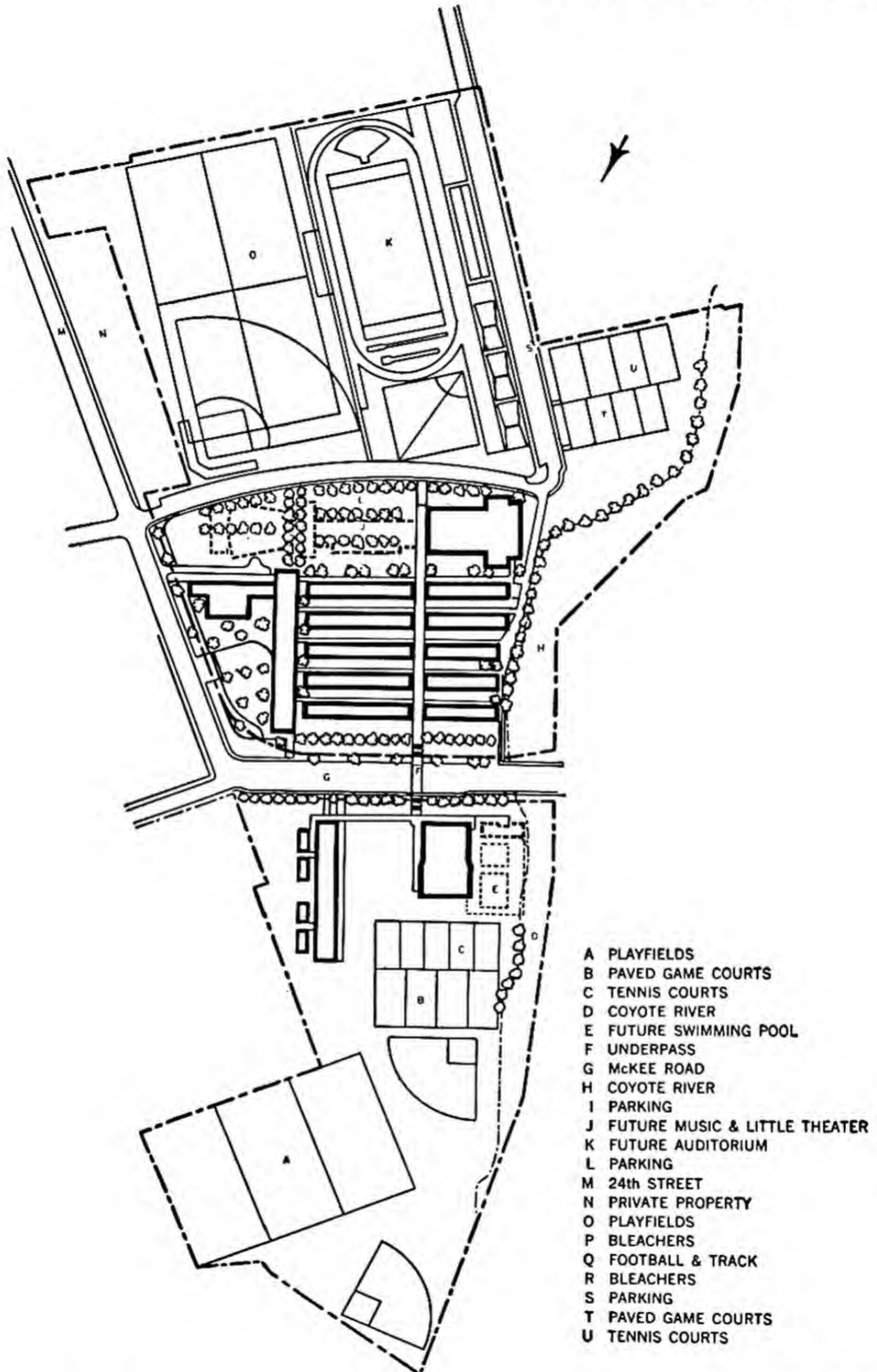


Roger Sturtevant

San Jose High School, San Jose, California, 1952

tives have been able to wage a defensive campaign. The liberals have always had to force the issue. The pertinacity of the latter group has been rewarded by concessions in the form of more liberal provisions for college entrance which, in turn, have paved the way for the development of new high school subjects.

The liberals have subscribed to the theory of the English liberals, chiefly that of Herbert Spencer. Spencer's essay "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" was widely read in this country and has influenced the trend of secondary education to a greater extent perhaps than has any other piece of literature. The author's staunch utilitarianism and his ardent advocacy of the study of science harmonized with the economic trend of the times. The direct influence of the essay continued until the



Ernest J. Kump, Architect

Plan of San Jose High School, San Jose, California, 1952

Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education incorporated the spirit and much of its content in the well-known "Cardinal Principles." Progressive theory in secondary education for fifty years has closely followed that voiced by Herbert Spencer.

The development of secondary education has moved along quite independently of the history of pedagogy. The theories of Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel, which profoundly affected the trend of elementary education in this country, left the secondary schools practically untouched. The child study movement, in which the researches of G. Stanley Hall in the field of adolescent psychology were so conspicuous, and the more recent wave of interest in objective measurement have proved far less influential in the shaping of high school practices than have certain social and economic trends that determined sentiment outside the schools.

RECOGNITION OF THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM

The origin of the principle of elective studies, although frequently credited to Thomas Jefferson's plan for the operation of the University of Virginia, goes still further back to the practice of early academies. Higher institutions did not generally follow the example of Virginia, and it was not until after Harvard University adopted the principle on the recommendation of President Eliot that it received wide recognition in collegiate circles.

For a decade after 1900 secondary school authorities vigorously disputed the question. Conservative leaders cited the obvious advantages of having all pupils pursue the same definitely outlined course while the liberals contended for a "wise differentiation." An extremist for elective courses urged that every pupil be permitted, with the advice of parents or teachers, to "form his own course of study, choosing what branches he pleases, as many or as few of them as he pleases, and continuing them as long as he pleases."⁷ Prevailing opinion, however, took a middle ground. By 1910 those who favored a rigid prescription of studies were ready to compromise with the advocates of

⁷ E. G. Cooley, "Limited Election in High School Work," *School Review*, IX (1901), 75.

free election. To liberal-minded conservatives it now seemed wise to permit each pupil to map out his own course of study, provided this course should contain certain essential subjects in each of the important fields of knowledge. With this limitation, it was thought, the pupil might be encouraged to specialize in the field of his choice. The Committee on Articulation of High Schools and Colleges, appointed by the National Education Association, recognized this point of view in its report in 1911. Many high school leaders, however, preferred a choice of differentiated courses. Many others would permit considerable freedom of election within these courses.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION CLAMORS FOR RECOGNITION

The vocational motive was present to some extent in the curriculums of colonial and early national schools as it has continued to be in the public school of today. When the early high schools were established, patrons of the practical arts looked hopefully to them for training that would lead to proficiency in trade or business. These schools, unable to overcome the inertia of academic tradition, responded with a brief course in bookkeeping and little else.

The practically disposed public next had recourse to the private commercial and industrial schools which had sensed the growing demand for vocational training. Private institutions, however, proved inadequate because they were out of reach of the poor. As the demand for free vocational instruction could no longer be overlooked separate public high schools of commerce, manual training, and agriculture were established as a compromise with the academic interests. But the idea of segregating pupils in training for trade or business was contrary to the prevailing concept of democracy. Moreover the separate public schools failed to solve the problem. Recently vocational or semivocational courses in the regular high schools have proved more satisfactory, but the problem of providing vocational education for all pupils who require it is yet far from solution.

Vocational schools of many types, including technical high schools, full-day trade schools, part-time trade schools, and continuation schools, now sprang up. These offered a short cut to the trades either by abbreviating the period of apprenticeship or by eliminating it altogether.

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A long list of trades came to be taught in this way, including carpentry, bricklaying, painting, plumbing, patternmaking, gas fitting, steam engineering, printing, sheet-metal work, and electric repairing.

The industrial demands of each community determined the number and variety of the trades offered by any particular school. Although the vocational motive was uppermost, the industrial schools did not neglect the intellectual side, nor did they fail to urge the development of habits of industry, thrift, and honesty. In this respect, their instruction tended to converge on that of the manual training schools.

LIBERAL VS. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The introduction of vocational subjects threw new fuel upon the ancient smoldering controversy of utility versus culture. Conservative educators condemned the motives set forth in the study of the new subjects as narrowly utilitarian, and urged no remission in the study of the classics and mathematics for a liberal education. The progressives rejoined with the argument that the time had come to redefine the concept of liberal education. Professor Cubberley, a representative of the latter group, well stated the new point of view when he said:

Perhaps no greater mistake in terms is made in our educational practice today than to say that the high school student who has had four years of Latin, three of Greek, four of English, two of ancient and medieval history, two of mathematics and one year of mathematical physics has pursued a liberal culture course. As a matter of fact, his course has been narrowly technical in that it leads to but a few selected occupations and he is in no sense liberally educated, for he knows little about the modern world in which he lives.⁸

A number of educators concurred in the opinion that a subject might be either vocational or cultural, depending not so much on the subject as on the individual, and that what was vocational for one might prove to be liberal for another. "After all," declared Snedden, "there

⁸ E. P. Cubberley, "Does the Modern Trend toward Vocational Education Threaten Liberal Culture?" *School Review*, XIX (1911), 463.

need be no real opposition between culture and utility,"⁹ but a new formulation of what a liberal education for modern America should be has not yet appeared.

THE SMITH-HUGHES LAW

The Smith-Hughes Law, passed by Congress in 1917, gave a decided impetus to the already developing trend toward vocational education. The law empowered the federal government to cooperate with the states by: (1) paying the salaries of the teachers of agriculture, trades, industry, and home economics in secondary schools; and (2) aiding institutions of higher learning engaged in the training of teachers of these subjects. A part of a designated fund was made available to each of the states in proportion to its rural or urban population, on condition that the respective states match the federal allotment, dollar for dollar. The courses offered under the provisions of this act were to be definitely vocational in character. The practical exercises were to be conducted in a shop or on a farm, not in a technical laboratory. In the subsequent administration of the law under the federal Board of Vocational Education, the courses offered have been tested for their vocational motive.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Vocational guidance proved to be one of the most intriguing aspects of vocational education. Beginning in Boston about 1910, vocational guidance was widely publicized, and spread chiefly among the larger cities of the country. Guidance attempts to save the youth from floundering about after leaving school; to warn him against going into a "blind alley" job; to make him aware of his own potentialities and limitations; in short, to direct him to an intelligent choice of his life work. The program designated for this purpose now varies from place to place. In some cities it consists merely of a course of lectures given by men promi-

⁹ David Snedden, "The Combination of Liberal and Vocational Education," *Educational Review*, XXXVII (1909), 231-242.

ment in the vocations of the community, and perhaps a little incidental advice offered individual pupils by the classroom teachers. In other cities the program is more elaborate: courses in occupational information are offered in the regular schedule of studies; visits are made to industrial plants, department stores, and so on; intelligence tests and special aptitude tests are administered; and counsel is given by trained personnel workers. Because of the pupil's need for assistance in fitting his course of study to his plan for the future, educational guidance has developed as an allied activity in this field.

THE LEVEL OF THE CURRICULUM

Beginning with the first decade of the new century, the standardization of the four-year high school curriculum has been accomplished almost entirely through the efforts of a number of regional associations of colleges and secondary schools. For these, the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, organized in 1888, led the way. The College Entrance Examination Board (1900), the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (1895), the New England College Entrance Certificate Board (1902), the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States (1896), the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools (1918), and the Western Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges (1930), have, within the past fifty years, virtually standardized the instruction of high schools throughout the nation. This statement does not imply that the instruction in all schools has been uniform, for general principles laid down by these examining and accrediting agencies permit the schools considerable latitude in the planning of their courses.

On the whole, the process has been beneficial. The distinction between elementary, secondary, and college instruction has been more sharply drawn, and secondary instruction throughout the country has been placed on a higher plane. During the period of their operation, the associations have shown an inclination to modify their requirements in order to meet widespread social demands. Moreover standardization has not led to an unvarying conformity. There is still much diversity among the member colleges with respect to entrance requirements, and the high schools now present a wide variety of programs, all of which

meet substantially the regulations of the accrediting agencies. In order to prevent the minimum standards from becoming the maximum, the regional associations have now worked out a system of evaluating each school, by measuring it not according to arbitrary standards but in terms of its own professional purposes.

THE CARNEGIE PENSION SYSTEM

A factor often overlooked in the rapid movement for upgrading and standardizing both colleges and high schools was the Carnegie Pension System. In 1906, Andrew Carnegie, a wealthy steel magnate, set aside \$10,000,000, the interest from which was to be used in the pensioning of aged college professors. As was anticipated, there were many more professors reaching retirement age than the fund could accommodate. It became necessary, therefore, to limit the pension offer to professors in institutions of a certain type and rank. *The First Annual Report* of the Trustees accordingly defined the term "college" as an institution in which the freshman class was based on the completion of a four-year high school offering at least fourteen units. The units designated were those of the College Entrance Examination Board. The Carnegie Foundation thus limited its grants to the highest ranking colleges and at the same time held forth the bounty of the pension system as an incentive to inferior colleges to raise their standards of admission. The colleges, in their eagerness to comply with the requirements, in turn pressed the high schools to meet the fourteen units prescription. The Foundation accordingly came to exert a powerful influence upon the colleges and, albeit indirectly, upon the high schools. The scramble to raise standards on both the secondary and higher levels was nation-wide. Within a few years, the Carnegie unit was the accepted medium of standardization and became one of the best-known terms in the language of education.¹⁰

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE

For nearly fifty years there has been a growing tendency to regard the first two years of work in the liberal arts college as belonging to the

¹⁰ Stuart G. Noble, "Contributions of Philanthropic Foundations to Secondary Education in the South," *The Southern Association Quarterly*, November, 1946.

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field of secondary education. As early as 1902, President William R. Harper of the University of Chicago recommended the extension of the high school course to six years, including the freshman and sophomore years of the college.¹¹ Acting upon this recommendation, the high school at Joliet, Illinois, forthwith organized a junior college department. California was then working toward the same end, with the result that the legislature of that state in 1907 authorized high school districts to offer junior college courses. The movement in that state went steadily forward. Ten years after the organization of the first junior college at Fresno, there were twenty such institutions in California. Other states have followed this leadership. Junior colleges, both public and private, have developed not only from the upward extension of the high school course, but from the abandonment of the two upper years in institutions too poor to support a creditable four-year course and by the separate organization of the freshman and sophomore years in certain universities. Many large cities have incorporated junior colleges into a fourteen year system. In 1948 there were 242 public and 230 private junior colleges in the United States.

THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The junior high school movement had its inception in the efforts of Charles W. Eliot in the eighties to improve the elementary school curriculum. He contended that much of the time spent in grammar-grade reviews could be used profitably in teaching new materials, and that the elementary school program needed to be shortened and enriched.¹²

Both the Committee of Ten and the Committee on College Entrance Requirements favored this revision. The former advocated the teaching of Latin, algebra, and geometry in the upper grades of the grammar school, and the latter suggested that the high school course begin with the seventh grade. A few schools introduced Latin, algebra, and geometry into the grades, but the experiment did not meet with

¹¹ President Hutchins in the 1930's reaffirmed President Harper's policy for the University of Chicago.

¹² Charles W. Eliot, *Educational Reform*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1898, pp. 151 f.

success, largely because the teachers made no change in the subject matter.

When departmentalized instruction in the upper grades was suggested as a corrective it was at first opposed on the grounds that the children were overworked and that the teachers were becoming too narrow. Opponents of the plan further maintained that the children were deprived of personal supervision and that a correlation of subjects became impracticable. In spite of these protests, departmentalized instruction was introduced in a number of schools and in many cases proved successful. By 1913, when an inquiry was made by the United States Office of Education, 416 out of 813 cities of a population of 5,000 and over had departmentalized their upper grades.¹³

Nevertheless departmentalization generally proved inadequate. Early in the new century there came a widespread demand for a complete reorganization of the work of the seventh and eighth grades. It was urged that many inessential or utterly useless topics needed to be pruned from the curriculum; that topics properly belonging to the high school or college curriculum were being prematurely presented in the grammar grades; that the elementary course, as a whole, did not articulate with that of the high school; and that both retarded and superior pupils were being neglected.¹⁴

This agitation resulted in the organization of the junior high school. Leaders in this movement were Frank F. Bunker, of Berkeley, California, and Superintendent J. H. Francis, of Los Angeles. Bunker initiated a reorganization according to the six-three-three plan in 1909, and Francis adopted the same plan in 1910. Their efforts were so successful that the six-three-three plan was soon adopted by many other large cities.¹⁵

¹³ E. L. C. Morse, "Another View of Departmental Teaching in Elementary Schools," *Educational Review*, XXXI (1906), 93; Donald DuShane, "The Intermediate Grades and Departmentalization," *Elementary School Journal*, XVII (1916), 151.

¹⁴ Calvin O. Davis, "Reorganization of Secondary Education," *Educational Review*, XLII (1914), 270 f.

¹⁵ For a brief account of the origin of the junior high school movement see Walter S. Monroe and Oscar F. Weber, *The High School*, Doubleday & Company, New York, 1928, Chap. IV; also William A. Smith, *The Junior High School*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935, Chap. III.

SECONDARY EDUCATION REDEFINED

The discussion brought about by these innovations indicated the further need for reorganization and resulted in the appointment in 1912 of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. The commission, which published its report in a series of pamphlets issued in the course of the next few years, stated its conception of the purpose of education in a democracy as follows:

Education in the United States should be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy. It is the ideal of democracy that the individual and society may find fulfillment each in the other. Democracy sanctions neither the exploitation of the individual by society, nor the disregard of the interests of society by the individual. . . .

Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.¹⁶

The commission accepted as a working principle the theory that secondary education should begin with the seventh grade instead of the eighth or ninth. It proposed to bridge the gap between the elementary school and the traditional high school with a unified curriculum embracing grades seven, eight, and nine. The details for organizing the instruction in English, the social studies, mathematics, the sciences, music, physical education, business education, and home economics, were presented in separate pamphlets which were published by the United States Office of Education.

One of the commission's important contributions was the formulation of seven objectives designed to determine the administration and supervision of the secondary school, the subjects to be taught, the methods, and the extracurricular activities. These came to be known as

¹⁶ *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. A report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35, 1918, p. 9.

the "seven cardinal principles" and included health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the philosophy of the seven cardinal principles has for the past thirty years more largely determined the practice of secondary schools in this country than has any other theory. These principles have been widely accepted by school authorities and have been written into most state courses of study.

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS COMPARED

Interested observers have frequently compared European and American secondary schools. A century ago, visitors from abroad, basing their judgment upon the practices of their homelands, attempted to appraise the American way of education. They observed the great number and variety of studies offered in the academy programs, and commented upon the dissipation of the students' time and effort when distributed for brief periods among so many different subjects. They accordingly rated the courses as shallow and unsubstantial, and the teaching as superficial.

Through the years the gist of the criticism has remained the same but was voiced most frequently by Americans who went to see European schools for themselves. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which in 1927 sponsored an intensive comparative study, came to the usual conclusions. The bulletin of the Foundation spoke disparagingly of the process of teaching employed in American schools:

The American high school presents a long list of subjects that may be chosen in yearly or half-yearly fragments, each tending to be self-contained owing to the fact that under a system of free election it is impossible to count on any two pupils having had the same previous work. Beginning after an abrupt break with the eighth grade, a pupil may start out with English, Latin, algebra, and general science. After the first year mathematics may be avoided if algebra grows distasteful, and Latin may later be discarded for French. English must usually be retained, and detachable units of

history, botany, physics, Spanish, civics, etc., eke out the curious medley of stipulated "credits." Under such a system nominal "enrichment" becomes actual impoverishment, for the simple reason that the more elective subjects are thus mechanically added to the bill of fare, each tied up by itself with a final examination and sealed with the inescapable "credit," the more completely do we cut off the essential and vitalizing connections of one body of ideas with another, whether in the same or different fields.¹⁷

In contrast with this, the report lauded the thorough teaching under expert instructors and the narrow but continuous courses found so generally in the schools of Europe:

Any one who follows courses like these as they progress, will soon be convinced that the real enrichment and the inner inspiration of both pupil and master spring from a certain intellectual clarity and grandeur inherent in great orderly conceptions, slow of growth, long lived with, and studied and restudied in different lights. Not only do good minds so trained develop power from their habitually lucid dealing with important ideas, but their mental connections are enormously increased, as on a switchboard, giving them access to a multitude of meanings that are concealed from those who deal chiefly with primary facts. This is education.¹⁸

There seems to be general agreement among those who have given careful thought to the matter that European schools of the early part of the century were superior to American high schools in just the particulars touched upon in the Carnegie bulletin. In spite of this there is no great readiness to import the European plan outright. Conditions are different here. America has embarked upon the task of providing opportunities for secondary education for the masses. About three fourths of the eligible population are now actually enrolled in the secondary schools of this country in contrast with 10 per cent of the same age group enrolled in similar schools of the most favored foreign lands.

¹⁷ *The Quality of the Educational Process in the United States and in Europe*, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, New York, 1927, Bulletin No. 20, pp. 10-11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

With such vast numbers to educate and with pupils varying in interest, aptitude, and social background, a flexible program is a practical necessity. The European plan, with its emphasis upon the higher education of a privileged class, has not proved acceptable here. What is needed, however, is a teaching profession with the tenure and training of that once found abroad. Admittedly the American system is still in the experimental stage and there is much to learn. There is no evidence of current European influence upon American schools on any level.

"MUSHROOM GROWTH" OF HIGHER INSTITUTIONS

Democracy demanded the extension of the principle of equality of opportunity to the field of higher education. This demand called for ample facilities at public expense and differentiated courses in the upper branches of engineering, commerce, agriculture, mining, fisheries, and other vocational fields in which advanced training had earlier been provided in life outside institutions of learning. Colleges and universities hastily adjusted their offerings to the new demands.

The wave of prosperity which swept the country after the conclusion of the World War I tremendously increased the enrollments of higher institutions. The increase of 86.2 per cent in the number of students enrolled in universities, colleges, and professional schools, in the decade between 1920 and 1930, was greater than that of any previous decade of American history. Private and public institutions shared alike in the increase. Universities which, a few decades earlier, had numbered their students by the hundreds were by 1930 numbering them by the thousands. The total college enrollment in that year exceeded 900,000.

Higher education came to have a social and credential value, whereas formerly it was thought to have only cultural and professional values. Hosts of students who had neither the ability nor the inclination to profit from higher instruction sought to maintain residence and acquire credits. There was consequently much discussion in academic circles of limiting enrollments to those who were willing and able to take advantage of their opportunities. Public institutions were unable to do so, but a few of the well-financed private institutions actually took this step.

At the conclusion of World War II hosts of returning veterans, taking advantage of the opportunity to continue their education at the government's expense under the G.I. Bill of Rights, enrolled in colleges and universities. The total enrollment leaped within three years to 2,500,000. Housing facilities were inadequate and new building programs were rushed to take care of the avalanche of applicants for admission. New vocational courses were added to the curriculum. The professional schools were overrun. In almost all institutions, classes were overcrowded and the teaching staffs had to be enlarged. Summer schools, extension classes, and correspondence courses thrived as never before.

THE POSITION OF THE LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE

Recent tendencies, chiefly the free election of studies and the clamor for vocational education, have weakened the position of the traditional college of liberal arts. Enrollments in Latin and Greek declined in some colleges almost to the vanishing point; mathematics and other traditional studies suffered losses. Beset by the demand for training in a great variety of subjects, facing the competition of the junior colleges in the earlier years and of the professional schools in the later, the integrity of the liberal culture course has been threatened. A group of the country's foremost educators thus appraised its situation:

Its original unity of purpose has been completely lost. This fact can scarcely be disguised by vague talk about the "breadth" or "background" to be obtained from a college education. The vaunted "breadth" is not so much breadth as a confusion of breadth with variety. We have incorporated a number of diverse values into the curriculum by a process of compartmentalization. We teach a little of everything, and then we apparently expect the students to achieve out of the total mass of their learnings a synthesis which, up to the present, the college has been quite unable to achieve for itself.¹⁹

¹⁹ *The Educational Frontier*, Yearbook XXI of the National Society of College Teachers of Education, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1933, p. 14. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

The cure was sought in a variety of ways. At Princeton and Harvard the tutorial plan of the English universities was introduced. Comprehensive examinations, honors courses, and other English ideas were imported by returning Rhodes scholars, under the leadership of President Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore College. The University of Chicago, under the direction of President Robert M. Hutchins, attempted to integrate the subjects of the freshman and sophomore years under the broad headings of the sciences, the humanities, and the social studies. Numerous experiments were conducted in the colleges throughout the country. The Rollins College experiment, the Bennington College, the Stephens College, and the Colgate University experiments attracted attention. Recently the rise of subjects such as psychology and other social studies is significant. The outcome is still in the balance, but if the course of history runs true, the process of social evolution will lead to a gradual adjustment of the colleges to the needs of today.

THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

One of the most significant features in the development of higher education during this period was the growth and upgrading of institutions for the education of teachers. Two-year normal schools were being established in most of the states before 1900. By that date the number of such institutions was nearing three hundred. The later practice of certificating teachers on the basis of college attendance, and the demand of the accrediting agencies for teachers holding degrees led to the upgrading of the normal schools into four-year teachers colleges. The two-year normal has now almost disappeared and the four-year teachers colleges have broadened their courses to include the liberal studies of the traditional arts college. These are four-year institutions now more often known as "state" colleges than teachers colleges.

No account of the education of teachers would be complete without a brief comment upon facilities for the improvement of teachers in service. Teachers institutes a week or more in length were in vogue near the turn of the century. These gradually gave way to summer schools conducted by the colleges and universities offering courses that could be credited toward a degree. Now, quite generally, colleges and

universities provide summer sessions, correspondence and extension courses as well as afternoon and Saturday classes for teachers in service. The demand for graduate instruction leading to advanced degrees is now rapidly increasing. The accrediting agencies are specifying that principals and administrative officers in approved high schools hold the master's degree or the equivalent. A few states are insisting that all high school teachers meet this as a minimum requirement.

THE COMMUNITY AS WOMAN'S SPHERE

The admission of women to the same schools and, if they chose, to the same curriculum, reflects the phenomenal change of status that took place in the eighty years between 1840 and 1920. During this period the economic emancipation of women was virtually completed. The rise of the factory system contributed largely to the change. The mills and business offices gave women a taste of economic independence. Having broken the tradition that bound them to the home, women found new openings as teachers in the expanding public school system. The clerical work essential to the conduct of large-scale business enterprises invited many. Soon women were knocking at the doors of the professions, law, medicine, and theology. Now, there is hardly an occupation from which they are excluded on the ground of sex alone. The schools recognize the interests of girls in the courses which prepare for the vocations.

During this period also political emancipation was accomplished. The movement began in 1869, when Wyoming adopted equal suffrage, and moved gradually eastward. National suffrage was achieved by the passage of an amendment to the federal Constitution in 1919. Women now enjoy the same rights of citizenship as men. Many hold responsible public offices and some have sat in the halls of Congress. In preparing pupils for citizenship the schools now recognize no distinction of sex.

EQUALITY OF WOMEN IN THE SCHOOLS

In no other country do women enjoy the degree of freedom accorded them in the United States. In no other country are they less

restrained by old-world conventions. With the attainment of suffrage and economic independence they stand on an equal footing with men. They have emerged from the cloistered life of the traditional home into the wider circle of the community. Though they may differ from men in their interests they are not regarded as inferior to men in intellectual capacity.

No other country has made an ampler provision for the education of its women. Privately endowed colleges in the East maintain just as high standards as the best colleges for men. Coeducation in the graduate and professional departments has opened the way to advanced degrees in even the most conservative of the higher institutions. In over 25,000 high schools boys and girls sit in the same classes enjoying the same opportunity for education. Though there are minor differences in courses, the core of the curriculum is the same for both sexes. Thus, the education of women, which, at one time, took place exclusively in the home, has now been almost completely institutionalized.

The equality of the sexes in mental capacity has recently been confirmed by psychological experiment. The sexes may differ in interest but not in intellectual power. In view of the fact that the home is destined to survive, despite modern changes, and in view of the division of labor which its maintenance will continue to require, curriculum builders may now well consider not merely the common factors in the education of both sexes but also the essentially different factors.

NEW HORIZONS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

The teaching of the schools was for many years centered about the individual and the restricted environment of his neighborhood, his state, and the nation. There was much emphasis on adjusting the child to the community. The schools, for instance, were to teach the mathematical processes required in dealings with small-town merchants and tradesmen; the activities of local housewives were to be taught in home economics courses; the community survey was to furnish the data for courses in civics and citizenship.

Frequent contacts with strange people in remote lands during World War II, however, lifted the horizon of American educators. Airplanes and radio all but eliminated distances. Malaya's monopoly of

rubber and tin came to light, along with the route to Egypt via the Congo and French Equatorial Africa, and that from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. Good neighbors were discovered in Latin America.

The new horizon brought a shift of emphasis in the teaching of the schools. Geography and political science, subjects which had held but nominal positions in the secondary and higher institutions, came to be regarded as important. Spanish, with reference to its use in promoting better Latin-American relations, as well as its use in commerce, became the most popular foreign language. Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and other formerly neglected languages, were taught in higher institutions as mediums of communication, and for appreciation of divers cultures.²⁰

THE USE OF VISUAL AIDS

From the invention of printing in the fifteenth century to the beginning of the present century, the book has been the accepted medium of school and college instruction. Not until the development of the silent film and then of the talking picture, was any other medium seriously considered. When the motion picture was first suggested as a teaching device the idea was scoffed at.

The objections raised against the innovation called for research. Since 1915 literally hundreds of tests have been made seeking to determine the relative effectiveness of books and motion pictures. A review of these studies would prove enlightening, but limits of space render this impossible. Here, only a summary of the outstanding results can be presented. These may be listed under six headings, as follows:

1. The film has been found to be actually superior to verbal methods in teaching factual information. The retention of such material is longer when pictures are used.
2. Habits and skills can be more effectively fixed by films.
3. Films are better than words for arousing interest, stimulating the imagination, and teaching ability to think.
4. Films are just as effective with bright as with dull children.

²⁰ Stuart G. Noble, "A Bifocal View of Education," *School and Society*, February 13, 1943.

5. Silent and sound films are equally effective.

6. Motion pictures leave definite and lasting effects upon the conduct and the social attitudes of children.

While the facts are not wholly on the side of the motion pictures the preponderance of evidence is clearly on that side. There seems to be little doubt that schools, where they have not already done so, will hasten to modernize their equipment by providing facilities not only for motion pictures but for radio and television. This will be true on all academic levels from the kindergarten to the university.

RÉSUMÉ

The goal of universal education has been nearly realized. The rural population throughout the greater part of the United States now enjoys opportunities for education in some degree commensurate with that afforded the urban population. A sincere effort is also being made to extend an equal opportunity to children suffering from physical and environmental handicaps. Facilities for secondary education are almost everywhere available. About three fourths of the eligible population are taking advantage of these facilities and about 2,000,000 students are enrolled yearly in colleges and universities.

The marvelous advance in the high school enrollment within recent years is without a precedent in any time or place. No other country has ever attempted to provide more than a small fraction of its population with free instruction of secondary grade. The United States has not only undertaken, but has virtually accomplished, the task of providing a place in school for all children able to profit in any way from more advanced instruction. People in the humbler walks of life have come to recognize the advantage of keeping their children in school. Mere literacy no longer suffices. Vast numbers of children, representing every social level, are now seeking the opportunities of secondary education. The high school has come to be an essential adjunct of the common school.

The problem of educating the underprivileged masses on the secondary and higher levels has proved to be far more complicated than that of instructing a small highly selected group representing the better homes. The democratization of the curriculum to accommodate an un-

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selected enrollment offers both advantages and disadvantages, according to one's point of view.

The process of evolution is still shaping the high school as an institution. The organization of junior high schools and junior colleges and the recent attempts to adjust the vocational offerings to the general course are manifestations of unrest that may lead to still further changes. A new philosophy of secondary education seems to be in the process of formulation; how it will affect the high school is not yet apparent.

On the college and professional level the process of readjustment to the demands of democracy is now going on. It seems to be clear that higher institutions are coming to recognize two facts: (1) that they will have to provide for an increasingly larger percentage of the general population; and (2) that they must continue to provide an extensive variety of academic and vocational courses to serve the needs of students differing in ability, interest, and aptitude. The traditional college of liberal arts will probably find its place somewhere in the readjustment to the demands of the modern democracy.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Make a statistical survey similar to that outlined in the first paragraphs of this chapter, using the statistics for your own state.
2. Compare the point of view offered in Herbert Spencer's "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" with that of the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*.
3. Make a brief study of the development of high schools in your state.
4. If you have access to a file of the reports of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, or that of any other regional accrediting agency, study the influence of that organization on its member high schools.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

A Curriculum for Efficiency in Life

I. A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT CURRICULUM

TWENTIETH-CENTURY THOUGHT

The turn of the century brought a definite break with the past. For more than a hundred years the bonds of dogma had been weakening but now they had reached the breaking point. Caught in a whirl of changing circumstances, with the sanctions of tradition giving way all around him, the twentieth-century man met his problems with a philosophy of trial and error. As in the case of primitive man, he became a realist and an opportunist. There was no time for reflection. The urgency of the moment called for action. Hastily considering ways and means, he gave his attention to the first thing in sight, and measured his success in tangible returns.

Curriculums and teaching methods reflected the change. The undercurrent of opinion favoring education of a definitely practical type which, since Benjamin Franklin's day, had moved steadily forward, now came to the surface. With it there came a significant shift in educational values. The tangible and objective was placed before the sentimental and subjective; the concrete before the abstract; the natural before the conventional; the practical before the theoretical; the vocational before the liberal; the modern before the ancient; the specific before the general; and the immediately useful before the ultimate. These changes

of emphasis were justified by an educational philosophy which abandoned introspective psychology in favor of the pragmatic, and substituted the inductive for the deductive procedure in thinking. The avowed aim was success in life.

The shift of attitude may be observed in the multiplication of modern vocational studies; in the increasing flexibility of curriculums made possible by a liberal administration of the elective system; in the decline in prestige of subjects offered for cultural and disciplinary purposes; and in the reorganization of subject matter for the new teaching purposes. Such changes have not been accomplished without a struggle. Conservative opinion, seldom inclined to compromise, yields but stubbornly and still maintains a fighting minority in every gathering of teachers.

ENGLISH THE BACKBONE OF THE CURRICULUM

The trend of theory in the direction of specific utility improved the position of English more than that of any other subject. There was little need to justify the teaching of English on the ground of mental discipline. The direct value of clear accurate expression was hardly a debatable issue, and the reading of choice literature for content and appreciation could not be criticized by even a crass utilitarian. It is not surprising, therefore, to note the subject's rapid advance in popularity in recent times.

The improvement of English teaching on the high school level was due largely to the widespread adoption of the report of the Committee on the Reorganization of English (1917). "The subject matter of English," this committee stated, "consists primarily of activities, not of information. It provides a means for the development of ideals, attitudes, skills, and habits rather than for the acquisition of facts and principles."¹ With these ideas in mind, the committee planned a unified course in English, including only such materials as "experience and investigation seemed to justify." The committee made a liberal extension of the list of selections for reading and study, thus encouraging wide reading

¹ *Reorganization of English in the Secondary Schools*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 2, 1917, p. 33.

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and extensive use of the school library. A fair allotment of time was made for intensive study and parallel readings. Contemporary authors, and even current periodicals, are often included in the literature course at the side of the familiar classics required for entrance to college.

The formal character of the English course is gradually being broken down. This may be observed not only in the practices of the classroom but in the contents of the textbooks now being published. The titles of newer textbooks indicate the change. Observe, for instance, the change from such titles as *Advanced Grammar, Rhetoric and Composition, Outlines of Rhetoric* to *Practical English for High Schools, First-Year English* (often the first of a three- or four-book series), and *English for Secondary Schools*. The recent texts attempt, more or less successfully, to fuse the matter at one time presented in the separate logical divisions. Language lessons are now being presented in many informal variations.

The National Council of English Teachers, chiefly through its organ, *The English Journal*, has for over a quarter of a century, been the most active force in advancing the frontier of English teaching. The council conceives of language as a form of behavior and would teach literature and composition in line with the pupil's interests and needs. The publication of the National Council's *An Experience Curriculum in English* (1935) has been as influential on the elementary level as the report of the *Committee on Reorganization* was earlier on the secondary level. Textbook writers hastened to adopt the newer point of view. Many elementary schools throughout the country modified their curriculums. Conversation, telephoning, dramatization, and discussion came to be featured in classrooms along with written exercises on current happenings, vacation experiences, trips, and pets. Formal drills were subordinated to normal activities calling for perfection of skills and establishment of wholesome attitudes toward life. Provision was made for individual differences. Content and natural expression rather than form prevailed. Grade levels were disregarded and alternating units of speech and written experiences were presented in cycles.² Oral speech, spelling, written composition, and reading are known

² Willard F. Tidyman and Margaret Butterfield, *Teaching the Language Arts*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1951, pp. 4-5.

as the language arts in the elementary school and are taught together.

Formal grammar has been losing prestige for many years. Recent research "overwhelmingly demonstrates" its ineffectiveness either in improving the use of the native tongue or in promoting facility in the learning of a foreign language. Textbooks long since discontinued the headings orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody, and the more recent ones are eliminating many of the formal rules derived from the classical grammars. The subject, as taught, has been considerably modernized. Notwithstanding the changes that are taking place in the teaching of English, not all teachers and textbook writers have been able to divorce themselves entirely from the traditional forms of organization.

English now occupies first place in the schools of all levels. Informal language lessons hold sway throughout the elementary grades. The number of pupils enrolled in all subjects under the general heading of secondary English in 1948-1949 was greater than the total number of pupils enrolled in the last four years of all public high schools.³ Almost all colleges demand three units of English for admission. In the upper classes there are elaborate offerings in journalism, speech, formal composition, dramatics, and current as well as classical literature. The demand for clear, accurate, and elegant expression has led to the improvement of teaching methods. The mediums of instruction for developing appreciation of good literature have likewise improved. English is now regarded as the backbone of the curriculum.

THE CLASSICAL CONTROVERSY

With the development of the vernacular literatures, and with the increase of interest in modern science and the industrial arts, certain practically disposed educators undertook to relegate the classics to what they termed their "proper place" in the curriculum. Among these Charles W. Eliot favored retaining Latin in the course, but as an elective rather than a required study.⁴ Others, including Abraham

³ *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: Offerings and Enrollments in High School Subjects*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 1951.

⁴ Charles W. Eliot, "The Case against Compulsory Latin," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXIX (1917), 356-359.

Flexner, advocated the elimination of the classics from the high school curriculum.

Neither Latin nor Greek would be retained in the Modern School—not, of course, because their literatures are less wonderful than they are reputed to be, but because their present position in the curriculum rests upon tradition and assumption. A positive case can be made out for neither. The literary argument fails, because stumbling and blundering through a few patches of Latin classics do not establish a contact with Latin literature. Nor does present-day teaching result in a practical mastery of Latin for other purposes. Mature students who studied Latin through the high school and perhaps to some extent in college, find it difficult or impossible to understand a Latin document encountered in, say, a course in history. If practical mastery is desired, more Latin can be learned in enormously less time by postponing the study until the student needs the language or wants it. . . . Finally, the disciplinary argument fails, because mental discipline is not a real purpose; moreover, it would in any event constitute an argument against rather than for the study of Latin. . . . The only discipline that most students get from their study of Latin is doing things as they should not be done.⁵

The classicists rallied to the defense of their subject. Under the leadership of Dean Andrew F. West of Princeton University, they marshaled arguments in answer to the issues raised by the liberal thinkers. From almost 300 men, prominent in politics, business, and professional life, they obtained statements attesting the value of the classics.⁶ Having accepted the challenge of the liberals, they prosecuted their campaign with energy. Under the auspices of the American Classical League, in 1921, they undertook the Classical Investigation which was to engage the attention of forty-eight educational experts for three years. The investigators assembled data from 9,000 teachers representing 2,000 high schools located in every part of the country. The results, when published in 1924, furnished statistical evidence bearing on the

⁵ Abraham Flexner, *A Modern School*, The General Education Board, New York, 1917, p. 18.

⁶ Andrew F. West, *Value of the Classics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1917.

status of the study of the ancient languages, upon the aims and objectives of the study, and upon the content and methods to be used in the classroom.⁷ Whatever may have been the reception of the report—and its enemies condemned it as its friends acclaimed it—it seems to have led to a genuine improvement in the teaching of the classics in high schools.

Latin teachers and textbook writers, following the recommendation of the Classical Investigation, attempted to make the study more interesting. This was true particularly of the first- and second-year books, which became more vital and far more attractive than the older ones. Beautiful illustrations, Latin songs, poems, and plays were featured in later texts. Much attention was given to connected reading and to collateral reading in English. The stories, short and simple at first, increased in length and difficulty as the study advanced. Caesar received less attention in the second-year texts, more time being spent on materials from other sources of greater appeal to the adolescent. Most of the recent texts provided for oral work and emphasized the functional phase of grammar. The methods of presentation varied and there were more devices for learning. Some of the first-year books suggested many devices for drill and included opportunities for various pupil activities. There were also exercises for the attainment of specific objectives—ideals of accuracy and thoroughness, orderly procedure in thinking, sustained attention, the historical perspective, and the ability to make formal logical analyses.

In his study of 314 colleges of liberal arts in 1924, McKown found that the colleges requiring foreign languages for entrance were decreasing and that Latin had been dropped as a requirement for 19 per cent of the degrees offered during the period from 1913 to 1922.⁸ In the entrance requirements of the early American colleges, Greek shared honors with Latin, but long ago this requirement was dropped.

Opposition to the teaching of the classics is not of recent origin, though it has lately increased in volume. No longer is Latin inevitably required for entrance into college. Modern psychology, with its emphasis upon specific training rather than general mind training, un-

⁷ *The Classical Investigation*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1925.

⁸ Harry Charles McKown, "The Trend of College Entrance Requirements, 1913-1922," United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35, 1924, pp. 74-80.

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doubtedly exercised a detrimental influence upon the study of the classics. This influence was all the stronger in view of the fact that direct utility could no longer be urged in their behalf and because the general culture motive, which had held sway for the better part of the nineteenth century, was being sought through modern subjects.

In 1900 over 50 per cent of all high school pupils were enrolled in Latin classes. By 1928 this percentage had fallen to 22 per cent, and by 1949 it had dropped to 7.8 per cent. In the meantime, Greek had virtually disappeared from the public high school programs, and had declined almost to the vanishing point in the colleges. Courses in classical civilization, written in English, were offered for beginners in these languages.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE CLASSICAL CURRICULUM

The decline of enrollment in the classics is the most drastic change that has taken place in the present half century. The full effect of this shift of emphasis in education may not be known for many years. An immediate effect may be observed in the rapid rise of Spanish in secondary and collegiate enrollments. Due to a continuing requirement of "a foreign language" for entrance and for degrees in many colleges, Spanish has tended to replace Latin in student programs. Other foreign languages do not seem to have profited at the expense of the classics. Gains for so-called functional and vocational studies, economics, political science, sociology, and psychology, however, may to some extent be accounted for by their replacement of these traditional subjects.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGES

German was beginning to compete with Latin as early as 1890, and by 1915 was enrolling half as many students. Antagonism to the language, however, due to the two world wars, has now reduced the percentage of enrollment to less than 1 per cent. French, which enrolled 7.8 per cent in 1900, reached the crest of its popularity in 1922 with 15.5 per cent, but, by 1949, had dropped to 4.7 per cent. The enrollment in Spanish came forward with a bound. As late as 1910 Spanish enrolled

less than 1 per cent, but by 1949, it had outdistanced Latin with an enrollment of 8.2 per cent.⁹

A group of modern language teachers, expressing the thought of the National Commission on Cooperative Curriculum Planning (1941), set forth the objective of the teaching of these languages, as follows:

Like all language arts study, the modern-language area deals with the promotion of understanding among people—not understanding of specifically phrased ideas, but understanding of moods, ideals, attitudes, and purposes. . . . No universal language exists or is likely to be created. Means of achieving common understanding can only be attained when, in various nations, there are many who have a working knowledge of other languages, and a considerable number who are proficient therein.¹⁰

A number of improvements have been made in methods of teaching and in textbooks. Survey courses, written in English, have been devised in the cultures of France, Germany, Spain, and Latin America. Beginning courses are still concerned with teaching a reading knowledge of the subject, though some teachers undertake to teach the spoken tongue.

The need for the use of *realia* in modern foreign language instruction is generally conceded, but there is little agreement concerning how they should be used. The inability of modern language teachers to speak the languages which they teach is believed by many to be the chief cause of poor results in developing oral ability among the students. The fact that so few teachers have traveled or studied in the countries where the languages are spoken is another contributing factor. There is a need for better prepared teachers and for careful experimentation to determine the effectiveness of the various teaching procedures used in American schools.

There was for many years vigorous competition between the ancient and the modern languages, the latter having the apparent advantage of current social and commercial usage and the former, the

⁹ *Biennial Survey of Education, 1948-1949*, Table 7.

¹⁰ John J. DeBoer, ed., *The Subject Fields in General Education*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1941, Chap. V.

possible advantage of a disciplinary study. Within recent years there has been much earnest inquiry into the objectives, methods, and subject matter of instruction. *The Modern Foreign Language Study*, begun in 1924 and completed five years later, is probably the most thoroughgoing scientific study of the kind ever published. Its recommendations have doubtless placed the teaching of these languages on a higher plane of efficiency. Colleges which require "a foreign language" or "a modern language" for entrance do not specify which the candidate shall offer.

HISTORY IN A SECURE PLACE

In 1899 the Committee of Seven did much to improve the status of history. It recommended that a four-year course in history be given in the high school with ancient history in the first year, medieval and modern history in the second, English history in the third, and American history and government in the fourth. The Committee on College Entrance Requirements endorsed this report and recommended that a year of United States history and civil government be accepted as a requirement for admission by all colleges.¹¹

By 1928, world history had largely supplanted general, ancient, and medieval history, and ranked second in importance to United States history among the social studies. Ancient history, where it has not been displaced by world history, civics, or a fusion course, retains a place in the ninth grade. The case of history has been reviewed repeatedly by committees of the American Historical Association and other national organizations, and has profited by criticism, friendly and otherwise. American history has made for itself a secure place in the family of academic studies.

Lately there has been considerable agitation in the newspapers and popular magazines in favor of emphasizing the teaching of American history in the high schools and colleges. As a result, United States history is increasingly being required in one of the lower grades of the high school as well as in the last year. Colleges also are being urged, as many of them already do, to require the subject for graduation.

¹¹ *The Study of History in the Schools: Report of the Committee of Seven*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1911, p. 38.

FUSION OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Since 1920 the junior high school has been a hotbed for experimentation. Changes in the social studies on this level have been more numerous and more radical than on any other scholastic level. Due to the increasing popularity of the core curriculum, fusion courses involving the social studies gained a foothold in many junior high schools. The socializing of the elementary curriculum brought other fusion courses, or units, into the lower grades. It is now customary in many places to provide a social studies program running from the first grade through the eighth. Of the fusion of studies for these years Wesley and Adams write:

The process of synthesizing the subjects into a field removes the limitations of each subject. Geography has been fused with sociology and history; civics has taken on more historical elements; and history itself has broadened its scope. But perhaps the most significant result has been the transformation of history from a subject to a *method*. This transformation has been almost completed in the elementary school.¹²

COMMUNITY CIVICS

The list of the social studies tabulated by the United States Office of Education in 1949 included American history, English and world history, civil government and community civics, geography, problems of democracy, economics, sociology, psychology, and consumer education. The attention paid to any of them other than history and civics before 1915 was negligible. The extended list shows the modern trend.

The study of the Constitution, and, later, of civil government, was designed to accomplish a generally recognized, but vaguely conceived, purpose. Dissatisfaction with the "insufferably prosy and unprofitable" teaching of civil government reached the boiling point early in the century. Community civics, of whose possibilities at least one textbook

¹² Edgar B. Wesley and Mary A. Adams, *Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1946, p. 23.

writer of earlier days was aware,¹³ came forward to claim its share of attention.

The Committee on Social Studies, charged with the responsibility of mapping out a six-year secondary program, stated that the aim of the new subject was "to help the child to know his community—not merely a lot of facts about it," and to teach him "what the community has a right to expect from him."¹⁴

It is evident from this statement that there was now a tendency to break away from abstract teaching about government and to deal with specific problems. Community civics attempted to make the child recognize his obligations to his own community and respond to them by appropriate action. This did not mean, of course, that community civics was to be limited to the study of the immediate environment; it simply meant that the subject was to begin there. Community civics courses, like those of socialized history, provided practical training for the student and assisted him in adjusting himself to his present environment.

Civics, more particularly community civics, is being recognized more and more as a full-year subject. For many years, merely an appendage to American history in the form of civil government, it occupied only a minor place in high school courses. Since about 1915, the subject has been greatly elaborated and expanded to include not merely information about the machinery of government but materials that may prompt students to patriotic service. As such it may still be found dividing time with American history in the seventh or eighth grade, but more frequently in the junior high schools it occupies a full year in the ninth grade.¹⁵ Community understanding is the aim of most teachers of the social studies. World history, which to many now seemed to offer the better medium for promoting the larger conceptions of citizenship, has entered into active competition with civics.

¹³ Charles F. Dole, *The American Citizen*, D. C. Heath & Company, Boston, 1891.

¹⁴ Report of the Committee on Social Studies, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 28, 1916, p. 23.

¹⁵ Howard E. Wilson and Bessie P. Erb, "A Survey of Social Studies Courses in Junior High Schools," *School Review*, XXXIX (September, 1931), p. 497.

OTHER SOCIAL STUDIES

Near the middle of the nineteenth century economics in the guise of "political economy" came into the curriculums of colleges and secondary schools with increasing frequency. High schools in Massachusetts, California, and Eastern cities introduced the subject. Notwithstanding these pioneer efforts, beginning many years ago, the advance of economics on the secondary level has been slow. Reasons for such tardy progress are not hard to find. The subject, as originally conceived, was neither concrete nor practical. Wayland's mature treatise (1841), for instance, made up from the author's lectures to seniors in Brown University, presented a discussion of abstract principles, after the fashion of the philosophical dissertations of that day. Champlin's *Lessons in Political Economy* (1868) was formal, abstract, and too mature in treatment for high school pupils.

When the Committee of Ten made its report in 1894, economics was occupying a small and insecure place in the curriculum. This committee found only one school in twenty offering the subject, many teachers declaring that it could not be offered "advantageously" in the high school. The committee resolved not to recommend its teaching as a separate subject but to urge the treatment of such topics as the tariff, national banking, bimetallism, and taxation, in connection with American history and civics.

It would seem that this attitude toward the formally organized subject would have tended to weaken the hold of economics, but such does not seem to be the case. As a college subject, its popularity rapidly increased. In 1922, 41 per cent of the high schools reporting were offering it, and almost as large a percentage of high school pupils were studying it in 1949 as in 1922. This tendency is doubtless due to the fact that college-trained teachers have preferred the logical presentation of the simplified college textbook to the concrete and incidental treatment of the "new civics."

The national committees did not encourage the teaching of either economics or sociology in secondary schools. Certain college professors specializing in these subjects went so far as to say that such teaching

did more harm than good.¹⁶ Nevertheless we find high school courses including one or both subjects as electives in grades eleven or twelve. Such courses are seldom more than half a year in length.

Sociology was being taught in colleges over fifty years ago, but it was much later before it appeared on the secondary level. Hardly a high school in the country offered it as late as 1913. Before that date, the topics of sociology might be found piecemeal with those of history or civics, but not separately taught. Gaining admission to the social studies group, the subject now seems in a fair way to make a small but permanent place for itself. Of 6,624 schools reporting in answer to a questionnaire in 1921-1922, 1,666, or 25 per cent, were teaching sociology. In 1928 it was enrolling 2.66 per cent of all high school pupils, and about the same percentage in 1949.

We do not have to go far seeking reasons for the introduction of economics and sociology. School administrators have sensed the pronounced demand that the schools teach pupils to appreciate and understand the social forces operating in a democratic society. The administrators have sought to meet this demand either with new civics and "problems of democracy" or with formal courses in economics and sociology. Many teachers, unprepared to organize and present the newer courses, have taught elementary textbooks following the treatment of the college subjects. Others, competent enough, have taught the organized subjects under the conviction that such methods offered the best solution of their problem.

THE "FRESH SYNTHESIS" OF SOCIAL STUDIES

The "fresh synthesis" of the data of the social sciences, as proposed by such leaders as Washburne, Harold Rugg, and Marshall and promoted by the Committee on Social Studies, although hampered by lack of properly trained and thoroughly sympathetic teachers, made some headway in the schools. The course in problems of democracy, which appeared in 1928, was competing on a par with geography, economics, and sociology in 1949. A variety of "fusion" courses have

¹⁶ Edgar Dawson, "The History Inquiry," *The Historical Outlook*, XV (1924), 242-243.

appeared. Of these, that devised by Harold Rugg attained more than local distribution.¹⁷ The newer texts on civics and problems of democracy represent efforts to achieve this new synthesis.

The main difficulty at present lies in the assimilation of history into the new form of organization. In vain do the progressives proclaim that "history is past civics, and civics, present history." The historians still insist upon the value of the chronological sequence. This cleavage of interest has thrown history courses into competition with the other social studies. Whether the newer studies can be made to assimilate history to the satisfaction of the powerful forces favoring the traditional forms of organization remains to be seen. Whether, moreover, the values gained by such an assimilation would compensate for those that must be sacrificed for it is a matter which experience alone can prove.

GENERAL MATHEMATICS

The most conspicuous trend in the teaching of mathematics in recent years has been the development of courses in general mathematics. In 1949, 40 per cent of all ninth grade students were enrolled in general mathematics. While it marks a departure from the practices of schools during the better part of the nineteenth century, this movement is not without precedent. A parallel arrangement of the data of the several branches was made in a number of the older texts. *The Young Mathematician's Guide* by John Ward is a good example of a general mathematics text of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Ward's text, which was used in American colleges, consisted of five parts: arithmetic, algebra, geometry, conic sections, and the arithmetic of infinities. This correlation was of arithmetic and algebra and of algebra and geometry. Toward the latter part of the eighteenth century the tendency to separate the subjects was apparent. This tendency increased and, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the matter of each of the mathematical subjects was fairly well defined. Arithmetic, algebra,

¹⁷ See Wilson and Erb, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

¹⁸ Clarence McCormick, *The Teaching of General Mathematics in the Secondary Schools of the United States*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929, p. 68.

and geometry were taught separately. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the movement for correlation began anew.

Beginning with the report of the Committee of Ten, the national committees urged that parts of algebra and geometry be taught pupils earlier than was the current custom. A course in correlated mathematics was introduced at the University High School of the University of Chicago under the direction of Professor G. W. Myers, whose *First Year Mathematics for Secondary Schools* appeared in 1906. Correlated mathematics paved the way for general mathematics. Other factors which helped to forward this movement were the new educational philosophy which advocated a more practical education and the abandonment of the theory of formal discipline; the junior high school movement which furnished an opportunity for the introduction of the new type of mathematics; the large increase in high school enrollment which has affected adversely the quality of the students; and the reports of national committees which have already been mentioned.

During recent years a good deal of attention has been given to the scientific investigation of the curriculum, and arithmetic has come in for its share of inspection. Various tests have been devised for diagnostic purposes as well as for the improvement of instruction. While these have been more generally applied in the elementary grades than in the secondary school, some progress has been made in the testing of the more complicated mental abilities with which the high schools are concerned.

ALGEBRA AND GEOMETRY LESS POPULAR TODAY

The prestige of formal mathematics seems to be declining. The amount of arithmetic required in the old-time grade school has been lessened. College accrediting agencies are reducing the earlier entrance requirement in algebra from a unit and a half to one unit. Geometry, which was being studied by 30 per cent of all high school pupils in 1910 was being taken by only 12.8 per cent in 1949. Trigonometry, which never held a large place in high school enrollments, is about holding its own. The decline in study of mathematics produced a shortage of

competent technicians needed in World War II. Postwar needs are barely being supplied, and the small number of young men going into engineering and other occupations calling for mathematics is a matter of public concern. Liberal arts colleges that formerly required both plane and solid geometry for entrance now frequently specify the former only. The time saved by these reductions is being used in commercial arithmetic and in courses emphasizing other vocational and applied aspects of the subject.

The Committee on the Problem of Mathematics in Secondary Education (1920) recognized four distinct groups of people whose probable use for mathematics calls for a differentiated training. These include (1) the general readers "whose use of mathematics beyond arithmetic will be confined largely to the interpretative function"; (2) those whose work in particular trades will make a special but limited knowledge of practical mathematics necessary; (3) those whose work as engineers or in certain sciences will require a more intensive knowledge of mathematics; and (4) the "specializers" who for the purpose of teaching or research will need to specialize in mathematics. The committee recommended a general introductory course to be pursued by all. It suggested that the junior high school work include such reviews of arithmetic as were necessary and "a body of processes and conceptions commonly called arithmetic, where the study, however, is of social activities—trade or otherwise—which need mathematics, rather than of mathematical topics artificially 'motivated' by social relationships." Material from algebra and geometry was also suggested. Practical values were emphasized and the committee stated that no item could be "retained for any specific group of pupils unless, in relation to other items and to time involved, its (probable) value can be shown." The work of later years would be differentiated according to the needs of the several groups.

National committees reporting on the place of mathematics in the secondary school curriculum have recently taken note of the prevalent tendency to regard mathematics merely as a tool and have called attention to its "far more significant" value as a mode of thinking.¹⁹

¹⁹ John J. DeBoer, *op. cit.*, Chap. VII.

THE NEW TENDENCY IN SCIENCE TEACHING

Chapter Sixteen contains an account of the formal organization of the sciences in line with the prevailing theory of mental discipline. It may be added that the memorizing of facts, principles, and theoretical data to the neglect of concrete instances or pupils' interests, which characterized the teaching of that day, went on to the end of the nineteenth century. The inevitable reaction against such formal teaching came early in the new century. In high school physics, for instance, according to Robert A. Millikan, the new purpose was to "interest and train the pupil in the observation and interpretation of the great number of physical phenomena which lie about him on every side."²⁰ In botany, Bergen and Caldwell²¹ recognized the needs of everyday life by emphasizing the horticultural and agricultural aspects of the subject. Anatomy disappeared from the course and physiology tended more and more to stress health, hygiene, and sanitation. These are but a few instances which indicated the drift in the direction of humanizing the sciences.

THE COMING OF GENERAL SCIENCE

By 1900 the high schools were generally offering one or more of the sciences. The study of each was restricted narrowly to the data pertaining to its own peculiar field and the logical organization of each prevented the student who elected a particular science from seeing the problems of his chosen field in their natural setting. As a consequence, widespread dissatisfaction with the teaching of science arose. A simple informal general course seemed to be needed by pupils in the lower high school classes. In spite of this dissatisfaction, the attempt to organize a general science course resulted in considerable opposition, especially from the science specialists, who claimed that the proposed course lacked unity; that it wasted the students' time, since it gave

²⁰ Robert A. Millikan, "Present Tendencies in the Teaching of Elementary Physics," *School Science and Mathematics*, VI, 121.

²¹ *Introduction to Botany*, Ginn & Company, Boston, 1914.

them no logical development of the subject matter or training in scientific methods; and that it crowded out other more important high school science studies. The specialists asserted that students were sincerely interested in the sciences when properly taught and recommended that the teaching of the formally organized sciences be improved. Those favoring general science rejoined that first-year students were too immature for special science courses, that general science could be easily adapted to meet local needs, and that pupils were more interested in subject matter taken from the experiences of everyday life than in the logical study of the several subjects.²²

The first texts in general science were written by specialists in either botany, chemistry, or physics and reflected the particular interests of their respective authors. Usually each author borrowed materials chiefly from his favorite science and the resultant text failed to do justice to the remaining sciences or to the study of science generally. In later texts the materials, better apportioned, make an interesting approach to the study. They may address informal remarks to the pupils, suggest practical questions, introduce key words useful for review work, or include references selected with special regard to the interests of junior high school students. They are written, in some cases, in conversational style.

Specialists have come to realize that the field of science is so rich that general science courses can be given without overlapping the advanced courses and thus making them less interesting. College educated teachers, once narrowly trained in a single science, are now better prepared in the whole area of science; textbooks have been improved; and the better high schools have laboratories specially equipped for general science teaching.

²² J. O. Frank, *How to Teach General Science*, Castle Pierce Press, Oshkosh, Wis., 1925. General science is usually considered one of the subjects recently added to the secondary curriculum but as far as the subject matter is concerned, some of the science courses in the early academies might have been termed "general science" courses. These offered information on scientific phenomena of all kinds. Peterson's *Familiar Science or the Scientific Explanation of Common Things*, for instance, which appeared about the middle of the nineteenth century, has about the same scope as some of the current general science texts. General science, as we know it, was introduced into the high schools after 1900 but did not win wide recognition until after 1915.

THE TEACHING OF EVOLUTION

The bitter controversy over the theory of evolution which shook the country in the early seventies did not affect high school teaching. Opposition to the teaching of the doctrine, however, was once more aroused in the early 1920's. The new agitation prompted Tennessee to forbid the teaching of evolution by legal statute and the state school boards of several other Southern states to delete the topic from textbooks. Two prominent laymen, William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow, debated the issue of the apparent conflict of science and religion in the sensational Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee. The hysteria soon disappeared, and one hears little nowadays in opposition to the teaching of evolution. The later controversy, separated by half a century from the earlier, indicates that scientific theory, through the instrumentality of the secondary schools, had to some extent seeped down to the level of the masses.

Events collateral with World War II have led school authorities of the secondary and higher levels to recognize new scientific interests, such as aeronautics, atomic fission, electronics, meteorology, and the like.

SHIFT TO THE VOCATIONAL MOTIVE IN MANUAL ARTS

After about 1914, the vocational motive began to gain the ascendancy in the manual training schools. Two factors are chiefly responsible for the shift in point of view: (1) An era of unprecedented prosperity was bringing opportunities for secondary education within the reach of the industrial and practically disposed masses. (2) The decline in favor of the doctrine of formal discipline tended to discredit the principle of transfer of powers upon which manual training rested.

But the tradition of manual training in its earlier sense was carried forward, with certain modifications, by the junior high schools. The objectives, "correct and accurate expression," the "power of visualization," "accurate and precise thought habits," the providing of "con-

trolled experience for industrial intelligence,"²³—objectives that are differently phrased but in principle are similar to those of an earlier day. The shop work, however, was much less formal, the exercises in joinery and cabinetmaking, for instance, gave way to such practical activities as electric and automobile repairing, cement construction, and the painting and finishing of woodwork. Only incidentally were these activities to be regarded as vocational.

The guidance function came to dominate the vocational offerings of the junior high schools. In addition to the courses in vocational information widely prevalent in schools of this level, there were frequently to be found, especially in schools of the larger cities, "exploratory" or "try-out" courses for the benefit of pupils who expect to go directly into industry from school. For the purpose of giving pupils a taste of several occupations, courses were designed in machine-shop practice, electrical work, automobile repairing, and the like.²⁴ The pupil was led to discover his vocational preference by sampling a number of such short courses.

In teaching the industrial arts, formal exercises are now giving way to the project or problem approach. The recent tendency has been illustrated by Alberty:

The general shop provides for orientation into a wide variety of industrial processes, and the use of media, such as leather, textiles, ceramics, metal, plastics, and the like. The war accelerated the trend toward the adaptation of the program to the needs of students in this field. Model-plane building, shop mechanics, power machinery operation, etc., have come rapidly to the front. This movement has also tended to stimulate cooperation with other areas such as science and mathematics in giving of courses in preflight aeronautics, radio, and electricity.²⁵

²³ William E. Roberts, *Manual Arts in the Junior High School*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 11, 1924, p. 18. Biennial Survey of Education 1924-1926, p. 198.

²⁴ *Twenty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, "Vocational Guidance and Vocational Education for the Industries," Bloomington, Ill., 1924, p. 205.

²⁵ Harold Alberty, *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947, p. 113.

A definitely vocational trend developed in the senior and four-year high schools. Household mechanics, farm mechanics, and other forms of manual work have been substituted for manual training. When Congress, through the Smith-Hughes Law of 1917, appropriated federal funds to aid schools offering vocational courses, it dealt a death blow to the earlier type of manual training on the senior high school level. In order to share in the distribution of funds, the schools teaching manual training hastened to adjust their shopwork in conformity with the vocational requirements of the law.

THE VOCATIONAL MOTIVE IN HOME ECONOMICS

Contemporary with the shift from the disciplinary to the vocational motive in manual training was the shift to the vocational motive in home economics. The aim of the general course in home economics became the promotion of worthy home membership. "To accomplish this aim," according to the Committee on Reorganization (1922), "it is necessary to develop skill in the use of household materials, utensils, and machinery, to inculcate such personal habits and standards as to foods, clothing, and surroundings as will insure good physical health; to train in thrift, economy, and business methods that the pupil may appreciate the problems confronting the administrator of the family income; to apply to the daily life the fundamental laws of beauty of color, line, and form."²⁶

Homemaking is thus considered to be the vocation of most women. Junior high schools frequently require all girls to take home economics and in certain cities the subject has a place in the upper years of the traditional grade school. During the last few decades home economics has found its way into rural as well as urban high schools. In fact, it may be said that the subject is now regularly included in the curriculums of all schools able to provide the equipment. Most schools offer it in the ninth and tenth years, and many provide full four-year courses. The colleges usually recognize the work for entrance credit to the extent of a unit and a half, or even more.²⁷

²⁶ United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 5, 1922, p. 4.

²⁷ *Sixth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association*, Washington, D.C., 1928, Chap. XXI.

Twenty-five years ago the subject was narrowly limited to the study of food, clothing, and shelter. Formal exercises in the teaching of home economics have now given way to the solving of practical problems of the home. The range of the subjects studied is suggested by the following: maintaining a successful home, keeping the family in health, caring for younger children, planning, decorating, and furnishing the home, use of the family income, good housing, etc.²⁸ The economic and sociological aspects of home life, formerly treated only incidentally, now receive greater attention. This broadening of the subject has recently led to the development of courses for boys.

TRAINING FOR BUSINESS

The Report of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education through its Committee on Business Education, in 1919, has no doubt exercised a marked influence upon school practices. The committee suggested relating the regular high school studies to the commercial program. For instance, not only was the utility of English in business to be considered in every year, but in the twelfth a special course in business English was recommended. Likewise the commercial possibilities in the study of modern languages, the natural and the social sciences, including commercial geography, were to be brought to the students' attention. These suggestions are not new. The rather obvious utility of these subjects in business had long been recognized, but rarely were their resources made available to pupils in any practical manner.

Among the more recent tendencies, we may note the increasing effort to bring the activities of the school into harmony with business, thus providing work experience for the students. Schools are providing evening classes for office workers and assisting students to find part-time jobs. New subjects are being developed toward much the same end. Such studies as occupations, transportation, foreign trade, and window display, advertising, and retail selling are now competing with the older subjects. The commercial program now includes more than twenty subjects that may be classed as vocational. Federal aid through the George-Deen Act (amended as the George-Borden Act in 1946) provides the

²⁸ Harold Alberty, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

same sort of assistance to schools offering business education as the earlier Smith-Hughes Act provided for those offering agriculture and mechanical education.

The newer ideas in education have affected commercial courses. One reads in periodical literature, for instance, of the development of objective tests in stenography, the application to business courses of the "unit and contract plans of assignment," and the revision of the curriculum according to the findings of a local survey of business. The increased specialization in business has presented a more complicated problem to the schools. A hundred different jobs are now found where formerly there were only those of the bookkeeper and stenographer. Office workers are shifted frequently from one job to another. The schools now face the problem of determining whether their training shall be narrowly specialized for each pupil, or broad enough to enable him to fill any one of a number of places. Business education is now thought of not in a narrow vocational sense but as a factor in the general education of all pupils.

VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE

State and federal aid have done much to improve the status of agriculture in the schools, but there are still many problems left unsolved. The four-year course long prevailing was hybrid in character and poorly integrated. Properly trained teachers are still lacking in schools of many of the backward communities. "Needs of pupils, demands of farming, and rural citizenship do not receive adequate consideration." The adjustment of the course to the needs of different groups of pupils has not yet been satisfactorily accomplished.²⁹ But when we consider the fact that within comparatively few years fairly satisfactory scientific courses have been devised by testing the meager materials at first available and adding to them, we cannot help admiring the enterprise of American teachers.

When agriculture first appeared on the secondary level, about

²⁹ George A. Works, *Agricultural Education*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 19, 1923, p. 9.

1910, a dispute arose as to whether vocation or general culture should constitute the chief motive for the study. There can hardly be any doubt that the general culture motive was in the ascendancy until after the passage of the Smith-Hughes Law. "It should be remembered," wrote Professor Bricker, one of the leaders in the promotion of this phase of agricultural education, "that it is not the object of the high school to produce professional agriculturists, but to teach the elementary scientific principles involved in agriculture as a part of general culture."³⁰ As late as 1919, in two thirds of the schools offering the subject, the courses were classified as "informational" rather than vocational. Two factors were influential in the later trend away from the general culture motive and toward the vocational motive: (1) the Massachusetts Home Project Plan (1914), which was to provide an economical method for the practical work; and (2) the Smith-Hughes Law (1917), which was to furnish trained teachers for the rural schools offering strictly vocational courses.

AGRICULTURE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The Committee on Agriculture of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1920) defined secondary agriculture as follows:

Agriculture in secondary schools comprises the elemental and basic portions of the science and art of agriculture found in the best farm practice, including crop production, live-stock raising, marketing, the conservation of soil fertility, and the proper equipping and operating of a farm as a business enterprise and as a place of abode.

The aim of the subject was threefold: (1) nonvocational, (2) pre-vocational, and (3) vocational. The committee wished to have it understood that it considered agriculture as a "mode of life" and not merely as a vocation, and that emphasis on the vocational elements was not,

³⁰ G. A. Bricker, *The Teaching of Agriculture in the High School*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1911, p. 116.

in any sense, to lead to a slighting of the social and civic elements of the secondary curriculum.³¹

The committee urged that the theoretical work of the classroom be supplemented in all courses by home projects and local extension activities. There should come from such a correlation, in the committee's opinion, a practical fruitage in efficient and happy farm life. Farm periodicals, reports of experiment stations, and bulletins of the United States Department of Agriculture, the sources from which mature farmers inform themselves, were to be presented to students as materials for study.

The Smith-Hughes schools have made general use of the home project plan. They have also employed the "farm survey" as a teaching device to make students "aware of the existence of problems in the farming community" and observe the means that are being taken to solve them. Some of the schools conduct extension activities, such as the spraying of fruit trees, the vaccination of hogs, and the terracing of lands on nearby farms. In certain so-called community schools the activities of the school have been merged with canning, refrigeration, planting, pruning, and other rural neighborhood activities.³² Extracurricular activities provided by such organizations as Future Farmers of America and the Four-H clubs tie pupil interest to home and community.

THE ARTS COURSE

On the kindergarten-primary level, art, or perhaps it would be better to say, the arts have become an indispensable part of the curriculum. Painting, working with clay, finger painting, drawing, working with paper and building blocks, sewing and weaving, wood construction, and dramatics, are thought of as mediums of expression leading to the development of the child's creative powers. The general art course on either the elementary or the secondary level has, for many years, been handicapped by the uneven and often haphazard prepara-

³¹ *Agriculture in Secondary Schools*, A Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, appointed by the National Education Association, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35, 1920.

³² Harold Alberty, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

tion furnished in the elementary schools. Even pupils who pursued the graded sequences in drawing, design, picture study, modeling, lettering, domestic and industrial art were not in all cases equipped to meet the requirements of the secondary schools when they entered. For this reason the advantages of standardization, such as they are, have been difficult to attain.

The general art course, as offered in many high schools, serves the threefold purpose of (1) training pupils better to illustrate their work in geography, biology, and other school subjects; (2) giving the talented few their initial training; (3) developing an appreciation of the architecture, painting, and sculpture of all periods.³³ Appreciation and self-revelation seem to be the goal of such a course. Through illustrated lectures, through the collection of illustrative materials for notebooks and albums, through excursions to museums, and through exercises in technique, pupils arrive at this goal.³⁴ Initiated in the general course, they may take their choice of a variety of courses that lead to the pursuits of industry and to the practices of the professional artist.

ARTS IN THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Of recent years the progress of the junior high school movement has affected, to some extent, the teaching of art in the larger cities. Of the various new practices initiated, the most important is the device of offering a series of brief exploratory or "try-out" courses designed to enable pupils to discover their special talents or vocational preferences. Throughout each year of the better planned junior high school courses, drawing, including object and memory work and original illustrations, goes hand in hand with broadly conceived courses in design and appreciation. In some schools art is a part of the core curriculum. Many of the typical junior high school activities, such as the making of posters and of illustrations for the newspapers and magazines, as well as classroom decoration, call for artistic expression.

³³ Walter Sargent, *Instruction in Art in the United States*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 43, p. 9. 1918.

³⁴ William G. Whitford, *An Introduction to Art Education*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1929, Chap. XII.

THE VOCATIONAL TREND

Shortly after 1910, when the disciplinary motive for teaching the manual arts definitely began to give way to the practical and vocational motives, a change came in the teaching of the fine arts. In many schools courses in design, as applied to interior decoration, leather-tooling, bookbinding, jewelry- and costume-making, superseded the earlier courses in cast drawing. Courses in appreciation, formerly devoted to the works of the old masters and the history of art, came now to embrace also an appreciation of beauty as related to industry, commerce, and everyday life. Drawing and design were now recognized as essential in the construction courses of the department of manual arts.

Arbitrary distinctions between the fine and the practical arts are now being eliminated. In the manual arts and in home economics courses, the aesthetic elements are not something apart but are intimate and essential. As in the social sciences, departmental boundaries are more and more being disregarded. In recent years art as a medium of self-expression is being recognized in general education.³⁵

THE PRESENT STATUS OF MUSIC

Singing, as the language of emotional expression, is the basis of music education on the kindergarten-primary level. The improvement of all types of pupils—the nonmusical with little interest and those with little talent and much interest as well as the talented few—is the aim of present music teaching. Of the courses designed for this broad purpose the only one required in any considerable number of schools is chorus singing. Elective courses in appreciation, glee club, orchestra, and theory of music cultivate the interested pupil's taste and talent.

The history of high school music is brief. If we omit consideration of the subject as taught in the earlier girls' schools and private conservatories, we need not go much farther back than 1900 to find its beginning. By the opening of the century, public school music (in the form of sight singing) had become a generally recognized feature of

³⁵ John J. DeBoer, *op. cit.*, Chap. XI.

elementary instruction. By this time also, the colleges and universities had in many cases developed schools for the advanced study of the subject. On the secondary level, where little progress had heretofore been made, the time was now ripe for an accelerated development of the subject. Improved economic conditions favored such a development, for the public purse opened for the expenditure of funds to supply pianos, phonographs, and the equipment of orchestras. A new attitude toward music came to prevail. The all too prevalent tendency to regard it as a frill was passing. The later courses were designed not merely to provide a superficial accomplishment but to promote sociability, to encourage the worthy use of leisure, and otherwise to forward the cause of good citizenship.

THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL AND MUSIC

The teaching of music in the secondary schools was already making substantial progress when the junior high school movement gave it an added impulse. Schools of the newer type now provided music courses to further several objectives, including chiefly that of the "worthy use of leisure." The opportunities afforded by music for expression and social intercourse were regarded as peculiarly appropriate for the schools to offer children in early adolescence. Chorus singing was arranged for both immature and mature voices; orchestras and glee clubs were organized. A course in "general music," required by many junior high schools by 1925, took a place beside general science, general mathematics, general home economics, and general art. Almost a third of all high school pupils were studying music in 1949.

PLAY AND ATHLETICS

Late in the nineties educators began to realize more keenly the value of play in the educational program. They had become acquainted with Froebel's theory of play for the kindergarten but had failed to see its possibilities in the grade school. When group games, folk dances and athletic contests came into vogue, it was claimed that the same physical benefit could be derived from these as from formal exercises, and that in addition they developed certain desirable traits such as

loyalty, cooperation, honesty and resourcefulness. But with a crowded curriculum, it seemed impossible to give one period to formal exercises and another to play. The question arose as to whether play should displace the exercises or supplement them. In subsequent practice most cities preferred to utilize both the exercises and the play.

The new emphasis upon play soon led to the adoption in the secondary schools of athletics which had, in the meantime, developed on the college level. High schools had begun playing football in the eighties, but the games were mostly intramural contests. Before the nineties were spent, however, city and county athletic associations were being organized, and district and state associations were in prospect. By 1926, all except three states had state organizations for promoting interschool contests. The elementary schools also were interested in competitive sports and began to form athletic leagues. One of the first of these was the Public School Athletic League of New York City, organized in 1903 to stimulate the competitive spirit among the grade schools and to manage the athletic contests. By 1915, 177 cities had organized such leagues.

PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HEALTH EDUCATION

Health education, as we know it today, was not recognized in the schools of the nineteenth century. The Committee of Ten in the nineties stressed anatomy and physiology rather than the formation of desirable health habits. It is only within recent years that health education has received anything like the attention it deserves. Instruction in this subject before 1910 failed, so far as practical results were concerned. Much of the matter taught up to that time was uninteresting to the students, who merely learned facts from the textbooks and gave them back to the teacher. Later practice indicates a lack of faith in this type of instruction. "Information concerning the number, shape and structure of bones and teeth is practically valueless," according to the Committee on Physical Education, "if the possessor neither knows nor does anything to cause them to grow properly and firmly, or to retain form, strength and position."

The best authorities, while recognizing that health instruction should flower in desirable habits, insist that the knowledge of the

structure and function of the bodily organs is needed to give the pupil a proper understanding and appreciation of these habits. They accordingly recommend instruction in hygiene as well as physical training. They would also include hygiene of the home, care of the sick, and a study of the effects of drugs, narcotics, and alcohol upon the human body.³⁶

Health education made remarkable progress after World War I. The draft revealed that almost one fourth of the men called up were unfit for military service because of physical defects that might have been remedied earlier in life. The schools undertook to provide a remedy through health education. In the larger cities, yearly physical examinations are now in the regular order, and classroom instruction goes hand in hand with the sports of the athletic field and the exercises of the gymnasium. Even in the rural districts, where facilities are meager and sanitary conditions are not what they should be, much interest is being taken in basketball contests, in field-day exercises, and in keeping pupils generally fit. The public seems at last to be aware of the importance of personal and community health.

II. RECENT TENDENCIES IN THE CURRICULUM

THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION

So obvious is the process of expansion in the history of the curriculum that the reader who has followed the account in this book may be pardoned if, by now, he is about to conclude that the story, as a whole, treats of the enlargement rather than the evolution of the curriculum. The narrow classical curriculum of early colonial days, as we have seen, has been successively augmented by the addition of mathematics, English, modern languages, natural sciences, social sciences, commercial subjects, manual arts, home economics, agriculture, physical education, music, and art. These subjects have found their places in the program of studies approximately in the order named, and the present curriculums of many school systems include all of them.

³⁶ *Sixth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence*, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1928, pp. 472-475.

The First Half of the Twentieth Century

Further, the curriculum has been enlarged not merely by the addition of subjects under the general headings just mentioned, but by the inclusion of numerous subdivisions, such as business English, problems of democracy, horticulture, farm mechanics, interior decoration, household management, dietetics, appreciation of music, and a host of others. Expansion has been affected through external additions as well as internal growth. Indeed, the curriculum may be visualized as a tree upon which new branches have from time to time been grafted—boughs which in turn grew branches and fruit, each after its own kind.

It should not be inferred, however, that the curriculum contains at present all the materials that have ever at any time held a place in it. There have been numerous shifts of position, modifications, and eliminations. For instance, such subjects as Greek, astronomy, anatomy, Biblical antiquities, evidences of Christianity, analytical geometry and elementary law, which were once conspicuous in the high school curriculum, have either been raised to the college level or else transferred to special technical and professional institutions. Subjects such as political geography, state history, physiology and hygiene, writing, and spelling, found largely in old-time high school courses, have been shifted downward into the elementary school. A number of other subjects have been modernized and presented under new headings, as in the instance of general science, general mathematics, "new civics," and so on. Still other subjects, such as dialing, gauging, Portuguese, and Latin verse, have passed out of the curriculum altogether. Though it must freely be admitted that the curriculum is now more ample than formerly, it can hardly be contended that nothing has been lost or changed in its onward march. Yet there has been a forward movement, too slow, perhaps, to please enthusiasts for change, but rapid enough for substantial progress. Such is the process of social evolution.

THE EVILS OF EARLY SPECIALIZATION

To take all knowledge for one's province has now become an impossibility. Specialization has come to be the order of the day. The higher schools now outline a variety of optional courses in response to the demand for special types of training. The student now chooses the

line of his specialty early in his secondary career and drops into a narrow groove of studies. The projection of vocational courses upon a secondary basis forces boys and girls to make an occupational choice between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Such a choice, needless to say, in all too many cases proves to be premature. The narrow vocational character of certain courses in higher institutions has tended to develop technicians without perspective. The broad general culture of the earlier regime has thus been sacrificed in the interest of specialization.

The evils of early specialization have been aggravated by the development of distinctions between the several subjects when logically organized. Thus, in the field of the natural sciences, for instance, the interrelation of the several subjects in time came to be lost sight of; laboratory technique and textbook organization obscured the natural setting of the phenomena of common observation. The defects of this type of instruction are obvious, but not until the second decade of the present century had begun were steps taken to provide a remedy.

THE SUBJECT-CENTERED CURRICULUM UNDER ATTACK

The account of the curriculum presented in Section I of this chapter is largely the history of the several school subjects. The implication is that the curriculum has been, and, for the most part, continues to be organized under the well-known logical headings. It is true that new vocational, realistic, and functional needs have called for the organization of new subjects and the introduction of new materials in old subjects. In the main, however, the traditional subjects have persisted.³⁷ One might surmise that the momentous social, economic, and scientific changes that have taken place during the past half-century (for a résumé of these changes, see Chap. Seventeen) would be accompanied

³⁷ Authors of recent textbooks, although propagandizing for the newer practices in teaching, nevertheless concede that the rank and file of institutions, particularly those of the secondary level, still adhere to the subject matter curriculum. See Harold Spears, *The High School of Today*, American Book Company, New York, 1950, p. 59; H. M. Willing and others, *Schools and Our Democratic Society*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, pp. 212-215; Vernon E. Anderson and others, *Principles and Practices of Secondary Education*, Ronald Press, New York, 1951, p. 117. The list can be considerably extended.

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by corresponding changes in education, but, in marked contrast, there has been "a glaring lag."³⁸

This is not to say that there has not been deep-seated dissatisfaction within as well as without the schools. Under the disciplinary concept of education, which held disputed sway through the first decade of the present century, the mental faculties were supposed to be improved by the several disciplines of the three R's, the classical languages, mathematics, and the organized sciences. Separate subject organization facilitated this process of teaching. But when belief in specific training for vocational and other functional values began to gain ascendancy, logical organization lost prestige and the barriers between the subjects began to crumble. At the same time it was observed that students failed to integrate the knowledge derived from the study of discrete subjects, and the evils of early specialization, previously alluded to, came into focus.

DEWEY'S INFLUENCE UPON THE CURRICULUM

The movement for curriculum revision, which spanned the first half of the present century, began with John Dewey's experimental school at the University of Chicago in the 1890's. It was furthered by his brief treatises, *School and Society*, *Interest and Effort in Education*, and *The Child and the Curriculum*. Dewey's disciples began where he left off. Conspicuous among his earlier students was Junius L. Meriam, whose experimental school at the University of Missouri was typical of those later to be organized by the progressive idealists. Meriam condemned the traditional curriculum as being aimless, disconnected, wasteful, congested, and untimely, and proposed instead a program of observation, play, stories, and handwork that would cut across the customary subject boundaries.³⁹ Schools somewhat after the same pattern were Marietta Johnson's school at Fairhope, Alabama, the Ethical Culture schools and the Lincoln School in New York City, the Winnetka schools in Illinois, and numerous country-day schools, as well as schools introducing the experience program.

³⁸ C. B. Mendenhall and K. J. Arisman, *Secondary Education*, William Sloane Associates, New York, 1951, Chap. I.

³⁹ Junius L. Meriam, *Child Life and the Curriculum*, World Book Company, Yonkers, New York, 1921.

PROJECT TEACHING

Project teaching, which came in through the avenue of vocational training, was later promoted by other disciples of Dewey, chiefly William H. Kilpatrick. The project was defined as a purposive unit of activity carried to completion in a natural setting. Enthusiastic advocates urged the reorganization of the entire curriculum into series of projects. This radical departure, which intrigued many teachers during the 1920's, gave way to unit-teaching under the Morrison Plan. The latter plan was less exacting in that it did not require pupils to select the projects to be studied or demand a natural setting and a concrete product. Both plans, however, contemplated the breaking down of subject barriers, and teaching by wholes rather than fragments.

SCIENTIFIC CURRICULUM RECONSTRUCTION

Contemporary with the activities of Dewey's followers, elsewhere called progressive idealists (see Chap. Twenty), was the movement for scientific reconstruction of the curriculum. Franklin Bobbitt in the early 1920's, utilized the principle of activity analysis to derive new objectives of education. Werrett W. Charters made use of the principle of job analysis to determine the training suitable for stenographers, dentists, and other technical workers. Still others employed newly devised scientific techniques of social and industrial surveys in an effort to adjust the school to local community needs. By the 1930's an epidemic of curriculum reconstruction affected schools in all parts of the country. City public school systems set aside one or more schools and freed them for experimentation. Rural schools like the Pine Mountain School in Kentucky, the Holtville School in Alabama, and the Parker High School in South Carolina attracted wide attention. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation provided funds for the improvement of rural schools in the underprivileged areas of Kentucky, Vermont, and Florida. A technique for curriculum revision was developed in the graduate schools under Hollis L. Caswell and others, and field studies were made in many widely separated places. Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Kansas, New Mexico, among other states, following the lead of Virginia, undertook school improvement programs.

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About the same time the Progressive Education Association sponsored the Eight-Year Study in which thirty selected high schools were freed from the restrictions of entrance requirements and their graduates were admitted to college upon the recommendation of their principals. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools conducted a similar experiment and, as was the case in the Eight-Year Study, permitted the cooperating high schools to devise studies and teaching methods after their own designs.

FUSION OF SUBJECTS

Experiments in great number and variety were tried out in school systems, otherwise conventional, and in laboratory schools throughout the country. Some brought forward the principle of correlation which had earlier been promoted by the Herbartians. Remedial reading courses drew practice materials from textbooks in other subjects. Some taught American history and American literature together. Others sought to combine civics, geography, and history into an intermediate grade or junior high school "fusion course." "Problems of democracy" resulted from the fusion of certain principles of economics, sociology, and civics. Zoology and botany were fused into biology.⁴⁰ On the upper elementary and junior high school levels such courses attained a more or less substantial place.

GENERAL EDUCATION

President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago in the 1930's proposed to alleviate the evil of overspecialization on the collegiate level by reorganizing the junior division of that institution. In his plan for reorganization he provided for general courses in the humanities, the social studies, and the natural sciences, which were to be preparatory to the more highly specialized courses of the senior college. The movement for fusion of subjects, which was already under way, thus found a powerful ally. And general education, which had un-

⁴⁰ Harold Spears, *The Emerging High School Curriculum*, American Book Company, New York, 1948, pp. 57-58.

til this time been thought of only in the junior high school years, became associated with the curriculum of the first two years of college.

A committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (1942) set forth the concept of general education as being that part of education which is designed for all pupils in common; that part which is concerned with the pupil's "total personality"; and that part which is devoted to the individual's "nonspecialized activities."⁴¹

BROAD FIELDS

A further step in fusion has to do with the organizing of curriculum materials more closely in line with the student's problems, needs, and interests. This is the so-called broad-fields curriculum. Here, curriculum experiences are grouped under such general headings as home life, citizenship, production, communication, and transportation. The organization of the broad fields is closely related, on the one hand, to the organization of new subjects such as general science, general mathematics, and general social science, and on the other, to the organization of the core curriculum.⁴²

THE CORE CURRICULUM

The core curriculum, embracing the upper elementary and junior high school grades, is at present the most prevalent of the various forms of organization. Here, subject barriers are ignored in the effort to glean basic knowledge or "common learnings" for all pupils. The core curriculum owes much of its popularity to the endorsement given it by the Educational Policies Commission which set forth its position in three volumes, *Education for All American Youth* (1944), *Planning for American Youth* (1944), and *Education for All American Children* (1948).

⁴¹ North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *General Education in the American High School*, Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago, 1942, Preface. This report has been described as "one of the most carefully thought out treatments of the secondary school that has ever been produced." Harold Spears, *The High School Today*, American Book Company, New York, 1950, p. 32.

⁴² Harold Alberty, *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947, pp. 115-117.

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Details of the core curriculum, as outlined by the Commission, appear in the description of two hypothetical schools, Farmville and American City.⁴³ In the new type of organization the core is studied for at least one double period a day. Here, the data of English and the social studies are presented in a series of interrelated units. The sciences and mathematics constitute another core that is found in many schools. Life adjustment for all children, not merely for the talented few, is the goal. *The Biennial Survey of Education* (1948-1949) reported 250,000 pupils, chiefly in junior high schools of nineteen states, as enrolled in core subjects. This number was 3.6 per cent of nearly 7,000,000 pupils enrolled in all high schools. The core is most often a fusion of English and the social studies. Less prevalent is the science and mathematics core.

THE EXPERIENCE CURRICULUM

The most extreme form of curriculum revision is the experience curriculum. Here, the acquisition of knowledge, attitudes, and skills is incidental to the achievement of concrete objectives. The day-to-day experience of the pupils, their interests and needs are made the basis of the curriculum. Physical and mental growth and the development of personality in each case determine the problems that will be solved and the order in which they will be taken up.

CURRICULUM REORGANIZATION: A SUMMARY

For more than thirty years there has been a definite movement toward the reorganization of the subject curriculum. The endorsement of the core curriculum by the powerful National Education Association through the publications of its National Policies Commission in the 1940's gave an added impetus to the already growing movement. The pattern for reform, however, is far from being standardized. Indeed, incidental and informal treatment seems to be the factor that commends it most highly to its adherents. Practices vary from school

⁴³ Lester D. and Alice Crow, *High School Education*, The Odyssey Press, New York, 1951, pp. 160-165.

to school and from teacher to teacher, all the way from parallel treatment of related topics in different subjects to the outright abandonment of deductive logic, grade levels, time schedules, pupils' marks, and all that once set the traditional school apart as a distinctive institution. Among those that use them most there seems to be little agreement as to the meaning of terms. What is "fusion" to one teacher is "general education," "broad fields," "common learnings," or, perhaps, the "core curriculum" to another. In the extreme form of the "experience curriculum," the formal subjects have given way completely to informal group activities in response to pupil needs and the urgency of the moment. This last development has lately met with criticism from the general public on the ground that it neglects the moral discipline of the pupils. Certain educationists also fear that the new schools sometimes cater too much to pupils' whims.⁴⁴

It is hard to assess the long-term value of this plethora of experiments. Some were transitory, leaving barely a trace behind. World War II cut short several of them. Some were discontinued after the funds appropriated for them had been expended. Others faded out of the picture with the passing of the enthusiasm of starting them. Conservative opposition has always been present. Doubtless a residue of truth has survived and this, even though small, may in the long run prove significant. On the whole, the subject curriculum remains deeply entrenched, though it has yielded ground, some of which may never be reclaimed, particularly on the elementary and junior high school levels.

PLACEMENT OF STUDIES

We hear much nowadays of adapting instruction to the maturity of the child. The implication is that the newer school of thought, in contrast with the older, advocates the grading of subject matter according to difficulty and interest, and the placement of the respective items in the course of study according to the child's growing interests and ability to comprehend. The idea is not of recent origin. Teachers of

⁴⁴ Rona Gans and Others, *Teaching Young Children*, World Book Company, Yonkers, N.Y., 1952, p. 88; Harold Spears, *The Emerging High School Curriculum*, American Book Company, New York, 1948, pp. 66, 70-71.

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former generations, even those who relied upon the cogency of the birch, were not altogether unmindful of the benefits to be derived from a methodical arrangement of studies; Lindley Murray presented a graded series of grammars, McGuffey, a graded series of readers, and Samuel G. Goodrich, a graded series of histories. For the convenience of pupils, a civics book was written in the form of a catechism, a geography was written in rhyme, and a grammar, in the form of a father's letters to his son.

Placement was determined by trial and error. American history and civil government, which first appeared on the secondary level, were later simplified for use in the grammar grades. Other subjects, such as arithmetic, geography, state history, physiology and hygiene, and spelling, after being tried on the secondary level, were later dropped wholly or in part to the elementary level. Conspicuous offerings of the nineteenth-century academies, such as Greek, rhetoric, astronomy, meteorology, trigonometry, and analytical geometry, for many years found in secondary programs, were being lifted to the college courses before the expiration of the century.

Until thirty or forty years ago, the placement of the respective studies was a matter to be determined by the local authorities in control of each school, but, since the report of the Committee of Ten (1894) and the report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1899), national committees and regional accrediting agencies have had much to do with determining placement. Recently, scientific studies have attempted to discover a more reliable arrangement based upon later researches in child development.

HOSTILITY TO NEW SUBJECTS

Throughout the period of our study, schools of the conventional type have usually resisted the introduction of new subjects. Innovations have had to prove their worth before they were admitted to the family of orthodox studies. Accordingly we find new subjects appearing first in private schools or in public schools specially designed to promote their advancement. Thus, colonial private schools promoted English grammar, arithmetic, geography, and certain vocational subjects when the conventional Latin schools declined to sponsor them.

In much later times, the private business colleges and the public high schools of commerce have been the proving grounds of a long list of commercial studies now found in the curriculums of regular high schools. So, also, special schools, both public and private, have fostered manual training, home economics, and agriculture. Conservative schools have generally admitted new subjects after an indefinite period of testing in the special schools.

PRESENT TENDENCIES

The high school curriculum, as well as that of the lower schools, is coming to recognize the needs of backward and underprivileged children. Differentiated courses have been arranged for both retarded and superior children. The physical as well as the intellectual and moral needs of the child now receive increased attention. There is at present a notable tendency to depart from the traditional forms of organization and to present subject matter in natural forms. The capacities and interests of children in the adolescent period are being observed. The flexible programs now being set forth also permit a recognition of local community needs. Although each succeeding national committee has had less and less to say on the matter of the disciplinary values of the school subjects, these values are still stressed in the classroom practices of conservative schools. The philosophy of the annual teachers' gatherings, however, identifies the ends of democratic citizenship with the direct values of education as set forth by the National Committee on Reorganization of Secondary Education and by the later publications of the National Policies Commission.

CURRICULUM-MAKING ON A NATIONAL SCALE

Within the past fifty years secondary school curriculums have become increasingly uniform. Great national committees map out general policies to govern the activities of the schools, and regional examining and accrediting agencies specify the details of subject matter and methods. Local communities may now shape their school curriculums only to a limited extent.

Whereas, before 1880, progress resulted from the imitation of

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widely heralded local practices that somehow seemed to meet popular favor, since then, through the operation of social machinery in the form of national committees and accrediting agencies, we now have an effective instrument for shaping and enforcing a progressive national policy. The publications of the National Policies Commission have provided common patterns for use throughout the country. In the earlier period, local pressure determined whether a particular school should pursue the traditional course or a more liberal one, but the inertia of tradition too often retarded the adoption of any liberal proposals that were made and the forces making for change were never quite equal to the inertia of the status quo. Progress was accordingly slow. In the later period, as the national and regional agencies became more and more effective, they were enabled not only to formulate policies on a large scale but to bring about widespread adoption of their ideas. Since the progressive element in these organizations has usually been influential if not actually dominant, within recent years the forces making for change have grown more nearly equal to the forces of tradition. In the tug of war, neither force has been quite able to have its way, although the progressives have had somewhat the better of it. For at least forty years, the interplay of these forces has made for sure and steady progress. This period furnishes for education one of the clearest instances in all history of the operation, at its best, of the machinery of social evolution.

OBJECTIVES IN EDUCATION

The term "objective," as used in educational literature, is of relatively recent origin. It came into the vocabulary of education a few years ago when the forthright methods of business management were first being applied to school administration. Before that time, the terms, "motive," "aim," or "ideal," were used to express somewhat the same idea. The newer term suggests a definite tangible result.

The demand for a new term is in accordance with the shift in educational values which came with the opening of the twentieth century (see p. 424). Since the term "education" embraces the full range of human interests and activities and since it is neither possible nor desirable to stress all of these equally, it is not surprising that changing

conditions have frequently led to a shift in values and objectives. This book tells the story of several such shifts of emphasis. It will be remembered that religion was the dominating motive of colonial period; culture, that of the early national period; discipline, that of the later nineteenth century; and efficiency along many specific lines, the ruling motive of the present. The concept of education is broad enough to include all these motives, along with many others not mentioned here, but social pressure in any given period usually calls for the stressing of one to the neglect of the others. Thus, we have with us still many teachers who think that religious, moral, cultural, or disciplinary values, as the case may be, should have greater stress.

THE CURRICULUM AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

For some time there was discussion of the question of reshaping the curriculum to conform to the demands of an emerging social order. Indeed, certain liberal thinkers urged educators to visualize the requirements of a future state of society and set the schools positively to the task of creating a new social order. Noah Webster long ago had somewhat the same idea when he undertook to provide a curriculum for future citizens of the new republic, but with this exception the proposal is virtually without precedent in this country. From first to last, the schools have been satisfied to perform two simple functions: (1) to transmit the cultural heritage of the nation, and (2) to provide practical information of value in the ordinary affairs of life, trade, or business. Such subjects as history, the languages, and literature have been taught in fulfillment of the first function, and such subjects as agriculture, surveying, navigation, bookkeeping, and home economics, in fulfillment of the second. The future has been seen only in the light which illumined the present. Pupils have been prepared to look forward to a future differing little from the present; seldom, if ever, has instruction been aimed toward reshaping the future. The function, so aptly termed by Harold Rugg as "prophetic leadership,"⁴⁵ has never seriously occupied the attention of teachers or writers of textbooks.

⁴⁵ Harold Rugg, *Culture and Education in America*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1931, p. 71.

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The verdict of history is that school authorities have generally considered their work adequately done if they conserved the best of past experience and at the same time met the most urgent practical demands of their respective communities. Progress has accordingly been slow. At one and the same time the schools have been accused of lagging behind the times and of pursuing fads.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. From data in this and in Chapters Five, Twelve and Sixteen trace the evolution of your favorite school subject.
2. Consult recent educational literature with reference to the revision of your favorite school subject. In the light of history, evaluate the various suggestions for revision that are now being proposed.
3. Examine the list of "constants," or subjects required of all pupils, in your state high school course of study. How long have high schools generally required each of these subjects?
4. To what extent has Thorndike's theory of transfer of training modified school practice?
5. What is the history of the so-called modern tendency to stress the specific tangible values in education? Is there any likelihood of a return to the values earlier stressed?

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CHAPTER TWENTY

Institutionalism vs. Progressive Idealism

I. INSTITUTIONALIZED EDUCATION

A GLANCE BACKWARD

The account in the last two chapters has brought the story of the institutionalization of education down to the present time. Since early colonial days education has moved steadily toward this end. At first the incidental experience of life outside the schools furnished the major portion of education for people of all social degrees, and only the interests of religion were recognized by the schools. A little later, when some people aspired to formal culture or to vocational skill in accounting, surveying, and navigation, and the environment did not offer such training, institutions were established to provide it. Still later, when the republic was founded, few understood the principles of democratic citizenship and it was proposed to set up free schools to indoctrinate the masses. The need for institutionalized education for citizenship was at once apparent, but it has required the full span of the period of nationalism to build up systems of public schools in all the states.

From first to last, the schools have been the medium through which the cumulative heritage of religion, science, art, literature, industry, and social experience has been transmitted from one generation to the next. As they have become more efficiently organized and more amply

supported they have come to take greater responsibility for this function. The elementary course has been extended from a brief offering comprising merely the three R's to the standard eight-year course. High school and college courses, superimposed upon this, have continued the work of the lower schools. The transmitting of the cultural heritage has thus become an institutionalized procedure.

Professionalized training in law, medicine, and theology was being offered in colleges and universities by the early national period. Since that time the higher institutions have gradually taken over the major portion of such training, and the period of preparation has been lengthened from a few weeks to four or five years. Although secondary and technical institutions had for some years been offering vocational training leading to industry, commerce, and farming, it was not until comparatively recent times that universities have come to institutionalize advanced training for engineers, business executives, and specialists in various other fields.

While the tendency of the last two centuries has unquestionably been in the direction of turning education over to the schools, it should not be assumed that the out-of-school environment has altogether ceased to operate as an educative force. On the contrary, it is possible to observe the influence of environment in each succeeding generation. At present, for instance, moving pictures, radios, automobiles, and labor-saving devices exercise a potent influence upon the lives of young and old alike. Indeed, it is difficult to determine which force is dominant in forming the temper and character of any given individual. It should be remembered, therefore, that the out-of-school environment is still a factor to be reckoned with.

The environment has likewise been reflected in the schools. As will be evident in the discussion that is to follow, social and economic ideals permeate the schools and tend to shape institutional practices.

THE SUCCESS MOTIVE IN EDUCATION

Life in a modern democracy is strenuous. The door of opportunity is theoretically open to all. Able-bodied persons are expected to be worthily employed. Even the rich cannot remain inactive without suffering the scorn of their fellows. People generally prefer to strive—

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some, to acquire fame; some, to attain social position; but most, to make money. For them education is thought to furnish the formula for success. No matter whether he follows the theory of mental discipline or that of the efficacy of specific vocational training, nearly everybody believes that education furnishes the means to the common goal—success. Many seek training directly preparatory to a vocation; many seek learning, mistaking it for culture; many are satisfied with the empty shell—the diploma or the “credit”—for even this has a value in a workaday world which asks few questions. The pursuit of education, or at least the credentials thereof, has thus been linked with that of the strenuous life outside the school. Mature students, who may not fully comprehend the intrinsic worth of education, are nevertheless quite aware of its value in exchange. So people struggle for education and the schools thrive.

THE MONEY VALUE OF EDUCATION

The extent to which efficiency became the motive of education, and material gain the end, is indicated by a flood of literature on the subject. In 1917, the United States Bureau of Education published a bulletin summarizing the data obtained from over fifty current books and articles. It is evident that, in the minds of many, the making of money had become the measure of success in life. The relationship between education and efficiency accordingly needed, as many thought, to be established. United States Commissioner P. P. Claxton, in a foreword to the bulletin just referred to, wrote:

Comparatively few are aware of the close relation between education and the production of wealth, and probably fewer still understand fully the extent to which the wealth, and the wealth-producing power of any people depend on the quantity and quality of education. The people themselves and their representatives in tax-levying bodies need to be shown that no other form of investment yields so large dividends in material wealth as do investments in popular education.¹

¹ *The Money Value of Education*, Commissioner P. P. Claxton's Letter of Transmittal, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 22, 1917, p. 3.

The more recent practice of employment agencies in selecting workers on the basis of school and college credentials has tended to give even greater currency to the idea that schooling pays in dollars and cents. It has not only enhanced the value of subjects directly useful in the vocations but has put a price on school attendance, diplomas, and credits. Much as the idealist may deplore the tendency today to confuse empty forms with the actual process of education, there is no denying its prevalence.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT APPLIED TO EDUCATION

The spirit of the times, interfusing education, has tended to direct teaching practices. The ideals of individual success, so prevalent in life without the schools, have been brought inside. The tendency is resented both by the ultraconservative leaders and by the idealistic progressives. The position of the former group hardly needs to be stated. That of the latter group is well set forth in *The Educational Frontier*, published by a group of Dewey's disciples in 1933, as follows:

Much recent indoctrination from highly placed sources has identified the doctrine of American individualism with strictly economic activity of a competitive kind, and has taught that success in obtaining wealth is the natural measure and criterion of moral qualities. In many respects American youth have been taught to regard the men who acquire unusual material substance and the men who contribute to the production of wealth by new inventions and the like as the characteristically American personages to be admired and emulated. All that was conceived necessary to justify such teaching was that the persons in question were born poor or handicapped, instead of with silver spoons in their mouths, and made their way or "got ahead" by their own efforts. Probably nowhere in the world at any time has there been so much teaching of an intimate relation between moral qualities and material reward as in this country.²

² *The Educational Frontier*, Yearbook XXI of the National Society of College Teachers of Education, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1933, pp. 47-48.

THE EDUCATION MACHINE

Early in the century, education came to reflect the methods and philosophy of the Machine Age. Numerous attempts were made to apply to education the principles of scientific management, as outlined by Frederick W. Taylor and other efficiency experts in the field of industry. The psychology of Edward L. Thorndike with its emphasis upon specific training fostered the tendency.

In the analogy between school administration and industrial management the school building was regarded as the factory, the teachers as the laborers, the pupils as the product, and teaching as the processing of the raw materials.

Franklin Bobbitt in 1912 declared that definite standards of teaching similar to those of industry should be set up; that the product should be measured in both the intermediate and ultimate stages of the process of instruction; that efficient methods derived through scientific procedures should be employed; and that teachers should be specifically trained and definitely instructed in their duties by the supervisory authorities. He regarded the whole teaching procedure in the light of a productive enterprise.

As an illustration of the manner in which standardized tests, which were just then being developed, should be used, Bobbitt cited an instance of their application in the case of arithmetic.

He wrote:

Within the past decade we have come to see that it is possible to set up definite standards for the various educational products. The ability to add at a speed of 65 combinations per minute, with an accuracy of 94 per cent, is as definite a specification as can be set up for any aspect of the work of a steel plant. The desirable qualities of mathematical computation, in any of its forms, are speed and accuracy. It is possible in the case of every desirable mathematical operation to set up standards of speed and accuracy. . . . For certain classes of students, bookkeepers and accountants, for example, the standards need to be high; for other classes of workers, musicians, for example, or bricklayers, the standards set may well

remain fairly low and their energies be expended upon other matters more important for them.³

CORPORATE ORGANIZATION

In much the same manner school administration followed the trend of business organization. The tendency toward large-scale production and large units of control which characterized the development of big business soon came to be observed in the supervision of schools. Small school districts gave way to large city, county, or state systems. Such states as Colorado, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, and Texas made rapid strides in the consolidation of rural schools. Authorities in Ohio boasted that during a period of ten years they had eliminated 4,000 one-room schools, or "one a day on an average."⁴ Motor bus transportation has promoted still further the centralization of control and the consolidation of schools. The well-defined tendency toward the adoption of the county as the unit of organization also pointed in the direction of larger units of control.

The form of organization at present most highly approved by educational administrators is that of the corporation. Here the citizens stand in the relation of the stockholders, the school board in the relation of the board of directors, the superintendent in the relation of president of the corporation, and the teachers in the relation of the employers. Efficiently organized city school systems are now governed by rules that delegate legislative duties to the board and executive duties to the superintendent, according to the dictates of business management. Thus, from another angle business influences educational practices.

THE SCHOOL SURVEY

The method of the efficiency expert was brought over into education during the second and third decades, when numerous surveys of

³ *The Twelfth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I, "The Supervision of City Schools" by Franklin Bobbitt, pp. 14-15, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., quoted by permission of the Society.

⁴ Katherine Cook, *Rural Education in 1926-1928*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 18, 1929, p. 10.

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city, county, and state systems were made. The most important of the earlier school surveys were the survey of the schools of New York City under the direction of Paul H. Hanus of Harvard University in 1911-1912; the survey of Portland, Oregon, in 1913, directed by Ellwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University; the survey of Springfield, Illinois, by Leonard P. Ayers of the Russell Sage Foundation, in 1914; the survey of Butte, Montana, by George D. Strayer, of Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1914; and the Maryland survey conducted by the General Education Board, in 1916. Many surveys employed the new statistical measurements. In fact, there developed a technique for conducting school surveys which was taught in graduate courses of several leading universities. Although the movement attained something of a vogue it lost much of its momentum even before the depression of 1930.

THE MEASUREMENT MOVEMENT

The first quarter of the century is signalized by the application of the scientific method to the study of education. Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911), the distinguished English scientist, made elaborate statistical studies of human nature and nurture before 1900. Galton not only contributed to the knowledge of the subject but introduced valuable statistical procedures which were to be widely used by his successors.⁵ Galton was followed by his fellow countryman, Karl Pearson, and by James McKeen Cattell and Edward L. Thorndike in America. Thorndike, in 1904, published his *Theory of Mental and Social Measurements*, which was the earliest American text to promulgate the statistical method as applied to education.

The movement was furthered by the publication of the Binet-Simon *Measuring Scale of Intelligence* in 1908 which, eight years later, was revised and improved by Terman and Childs of Stanford University. This test was the forerunner of numerous other intelligence tests devised by American research workers. From a different source came edu-

⁵ I. L. Kandel, *Twenty-five Years of American Education*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924, p. 123, "The Development of Tests and Measurements," by Jesse B. Sears.

cational measurements. As early as 1897, J. M. Rice measured achievement in spelling by a test which gave rise to standardized tests in this and other school subjects. C. W. Stone and Stuart A. Courtis prepared standardized achievement tests in arithmetic; Thorndike, a handwriting scale in 1910; Hillegas, a composition scale in 1912. Others lengthened or improved the list of standardized tests until there were tests in practically every subject of elementary and secondary grade. Literally millions of children have been measured by intelligence and educational scales. The results have enabled school authorities to provide for individual differences and to come to more reliable conclusions with reference to the placement and promotion of pupils. Tests and similar devices are regarded as the instruments for the scientific study of education in much the same way that the thermometer and the barometer are regarded as instruments for the study of physical phenomena. According to some of its critics, however, the advantage does not lie altogether on the side of exact measurement. It has been felt that tests and scales tend to neglect the human factor and to promote undue mechanization of education.

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF TEACHER TRAINING

The final step in institutionalization was reached when the process of education itself was formulated and became a subject for the training of teachers in colleges and universities. This involved not only the study of teaching methods but also the matter of organizing and administering schools and systems of schools. Earlier, the professional fitness of teachers had been determined by examinations in the subjects to be taught, given either by the school districts or by the counties. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the states came to take over the function of certification, requiring teachers throughout the state to pass uniform examinations. Gradually, exemption from examination was extended to graduates of normal schools, teachers colleges, and liberal arts colleges. By 1927 every state in the union was certificating teachers on the basis of college attendance, though many still offered the option of examination. This led, at one and the same time, to an unusual increase in the enrollment of institutions whose courses were accepted for certification, the upward extension of the normal school curriculum

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so as to provide for the bachelor's degree, and the introduction of education courses into the colleges of liberal arts. The development in this direction seems to justify, at this point, a brief account of the institutionalization of the training of teachers.

WIDESPREAD INTEREST IN THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

The study of education in America, whether scientific or otherwise, is of comparatively recent origin. The more prominent subjects in the college curriculum acquired a literary content much earlier than did education. While it is true that there may be observed from colonial times onward a growing interest in schools and popular education in general, this interest prompted only a few men to write books on the subject. Before 1900 the literature of education consisted mainly of translations of the better-known French and German treatises, American commentaries on these, and a meager list of informational textbooks.

After 1900 there appeared a phenomenal development that more than compensated for a tardy beginning. Professional interest in education stimulated the writing of books to an unprecedented degree. The printing presses literally poured out a stream of books dealing with every phase of the subject. By 1928, there were more than 2,000 volumes on education. More specifically, the number of education books in print in 1928 exceeded by 300 titles the number dealing with the study of the English language; exceeded that of chemistry by 700; and that of mathematics by 1,800. Measured in rate of increase for the twenty-six-year period between 1902 and 1928, the accumulation of English and chemistry books increased threefold; that of mathematics books, fivefold, and that of education books, ninefold.

Much of the advance in the quality as well as the quantity of educational literature since 1900 is due to the application of scientific methods to the study of education and the eagerness of teachers to inform themselves regarding these newer developments. College courses in this field and the consequent publication of new textbooks answered a widespread demand. One author has graphically described the quest of the teachers for the new knowledge:

Meanwhile the theory of school efficiency through quantitative studies was gaining headway in graduate courses in the universities; and later these technical courses and textbooks were gradually crowded down into the undergraduate field. . . . Courses in various phases of "school administration" and "school statistics" multiplied rapidly, and the necessary textbooks soon came from the presses, while teachers, principals, and even staid and sometimes elderly superintendents went back to school and college and university to catch up with the developments. The educational literature in books and periodicals took on a technical character, and teachers' institutes and educational conventions began to appear like meetings of industrial efficiency engineers, while the old-fashioned school-master and mistress began to get giddy with the whirring of technical machinery and the jargon of technologists. Old-fashioned academic professors now stood aghast as they watched the academic mills grind out "Masters" and "Doctors" for classwork and theses that appeared to belong more in the engineering departments, and only reluctantly have they welcomed these birds of strange lineage and plumage into the academic preserves.⁶

THE ADVANCE OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Evidences of the beginning of the psychological tendency in education had appeared in teachers' manuals after about 1860. From this time on through the next two decades such treatises gradually established what has come to be the groundwork of the study of education. When early advocates of the psychologizing of education spoke of the subject it was in the sense of the old-fashioned "mental philosophy." Faculty psychology, carrying with it formal discipline, held undisputed sway in educational literature until 1900.

After this date interpreters of a different type of psychology, a host in number, reflected the new trend in thought. M. V. O'Shea, one of the most prominent educators of the time, wrote in 1903:

⁶ Isaac Doughton, *Modern Public Education: Its Philosophy and Background*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1935, pp. 281-282.

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We have heard enough in our day to be impressed with the fact that the study of abstract psychology adds little to the effectiveness of the teacher's work. . . . But it does not seem unreasonable to say that modern psychology, which shows mind functioning for a purpose, and this to obtain a mastery of the environing world,—such study as this will afford the teacher vantage ground from which to gain an outlook over the field and see the significance of much that is occurring therein.⁷

In 1906, Edward L. Thorndike published his *Principles of Teaching* with the avowed purpose of making the study of teaching “scientific and practical—scientific in the sense of dealing with verifiable facts rather than attractive opinions.”⁸ A dozen years later, Charles H. Judd, after long experimentation, met the demand for a “general introductory discussion of educational problems from a scientific point of view” with his *Introduction to the Scientific Study of Education*.⁹ These and many other psychologists, adopting the pragmatic philosophy of William James and John Dewey, applied new statistical devices in the study of the problems of education.

The reigning doctrine of formal discipline furnished the most significant object of attack. Here the psychologists attempted to answer such questions as: Does training of a particular mental function in any given field (i.e., Latin or mathematics) improve the efficiency of that function in any or all other fields of learning? If so, what is the psychological process by which this is accomplished, and what is the extent and significance of the transfer? Breaking down these general questions into specific problems, they pursued their researches for a score of years. While the conflicting results of experimentation have usually been set forth cautiously, the impression has nevertheless gained currency in administrative circles that the doctrine of formal discipline has been exploded. Many have even jumped to the conclusion that there is “no such thing as transfer of training.” Such assumptions have of course provoked a tempest of controversy. Regardless of the insecure founda-

⁷ Michael V. O'Shea, *Education as Adjustment*, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1903, p. 51.

⁸ Edward L. Thorndike, *Principles of Teaching*, A. G. Seiler, New York, 1906.

⁹ Ginn and Company, Boston, 1918.

tions for such broad assertions and regardless of the merits of the argument on either side, the trend of practice has favored the thesis that subjects of study should not be selected on the basis of their transfer value alone. The effect of this preference for subjects of definite utility on the trend of the curriculum may be observed in the treatment of that topic in Chapter Nineteen. Teaching methods also have accordingly been modified in certain subjects.

STATISTICAL METHODS APPLIED TO ADMINISTRATION

As enrollment grew by leaps and bounds, as high schools developed, and as large units of control became the order of the day, the complicated problems of administration and supervision became more and more pressing. A few books and treatises on the subject had appeared before 1900. After this date, prospective school officers turned in increasing numbers to the universities for training for their enlarged responsibilities. Under the direction of Ellwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University, George D. Strayer of Teachers College, Columbia, and others, there developed a systematic treatment of the principles applicable to this field. The subject came to include the study of the legal machinery of the schools, school finance, the powers and duties of boards of education, the function of the respective school officers, the buildings and equipment, and so on.

The application of statistical methods to the study of problems of school administration came in response to the demand for greater efficiency in the operation of school systems. Thorndike's study of the elimination of children from school in 1907¹⁰ and Ayers's study of retardation,¹¹ two years later, not only reminded the administrators of wasteful school practices but initiated the use of statistical procedures in the study of such problems. From these beginnings arose the departments of research and reference which many city and state systems now maintain. The training of research workers in this field has become a function of advanced courses in education in the universities.

¹⁰ Edward L. Thorndike, *The Elimination of Pupils from School*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 4, 1907.

¹¹ Leonard P. Ayers. *Laggards in Our Schools*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1913.

OTHER FRONTIERS IN EDUCATION

In the meantime, the study of education was prosecuted on other fronts. William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia, and Boyd H. Bode of Ohio State University, by interpretation advanced Dewey's philosophy. Henry Suzzallo and David Snedden did pioneer work in educational sociology. Paul Monroe, I. L. Kandel, and Edgar W. Knight not only placed the study of history of education upon a substantial basis but also promoted the comparative study of contemporary foreign school systems. Still others linked the study of education with that of economics and political science.

A SCIENCE IN EMBRYO

The accomplishments of history, whether in the field of government, science, art, or literature, have been attained under the stress of powerful social movements. It takes time to develop a new science. Systematic study cannot proceed until the data have been assembled. In the case of certain sciences, extensive explorations were carried on for years before any attempt was made to classify or interpret the data. Such preliminary activities may be insignificant in themselves, but they are nonetheless essential for the early foundations.

Though scientific methods are being widely employed in the study of education, little has been done in the way of generalization and formulation. The task of the immediate future calls not merely for a continuation of the extensive exploration of the past half century but for an intensive study of the accumulated data. The materials need to be sifted again and again; they need to be subjected to a new appraisal; they need to be classified, boiled down, and digested. Such a task awaits the next generation of scholars.¹²

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Along with the institutionalization of training there developed among teachers a new sense of their professional responsibilities which was further encouraged by the activities of the numerous state and

¹² Stuart G. Noble, "The Beginnings of a Science of Education," *School and Society* (December 23, 1933). The article includes much of the data of this topic.

national organizations. In every state there is now a state teachers' association with an office in the charge of a full-time secretary. There are also city and county as well as regional and national organizations devoted to the promotion of such special interests as the teaching of English, of the sciences, of the classics, and of other school subjects. Other professional organizations engaged in cooperative research with a view to improving the status of the teaching personnel.

Of all teachers' organizations, the National Education Association is most important. Established in 1857 as the National Teachers' Association, it has been known under its present name since 1871. From 10,000 members in 1918, its enrollment grew to more than 200,000 in ten years. Its present membership is around 500,000. Through its headquarters at Washington the National Education Association conducts a wide range of activities related to the improvement of the profession and the advancement of education. For many years its committees have formulated public school policies and represented the teaching profession in the promotion of national school legislation. More recently its research studies have contributed data much needed for the effective administration of the local systems. Its services are highly professional in character. Through publications of its committee, the National Policies Commission, the better practices are being propagated throughout the country.

RECAPITULATION

At the present time, institutionalization has advanced to its utmost limits. The ideals of efficiency and material gain have been carried over into the schools. Courses are designed to meet the specific requirements for proficiency in life. The work of the schools has been standardized and the pupils have been regimented to accomplish certain designated results with the least expenditure of effort. The ability of the pupils and the efficiency of instruction are measured by standardized tests. Statistical and other scientific procedures are being utilized in the study of education. Educational psychology and school administration have become highly specialized studies employing newly derived research procedures. The study of education, as a whole, is fast developing into a science.

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Among teachers, the institutionalist may be either liberal or conservative. He is a realist whose ideals have been derived from the world of business and industry; who believes in the power of organized effort and the establishment of institutions to further the purpose of education; who accomplishes the business of education in the same forthright manner that is employed in an efficiently organized office or factory; who sets up concrete objectives; provides for large-scale production with standardized equipment and centralized administration; who economizes time and eliminates waste; who provides for inspectors and supervisors and for detailed instructions to the teachers, similar to the directions sent out to factory workers; who measures the product (pupils) while in process and at the end of the course; who invents new devices, mechanisms, formulas, rules, and methods and provides for their general application in teaching; who plans for group instruction, uniform tests and texts, standards for accrediting schools, and for the grading, promotion, and graduation of pupils. In other words, he seeks the ends of education through the medium of organized institutions, such as books, course of study, legislative enactments, as well as the school.

II. PROGRESSIVE IDEALISM

PROTEST AGAINST ABUSES OF INSTITUTIONALISM

Before the end of the nineteenth century certain abuses of institutionalism were being observed. So many life interests were coming to be represented in school studies that the program presented a medley of subjects without connection or order. When the criterion of mental discipline was applied as a unifying principle, in the opinion of many, it tended to divorce instruction from life (Chap. Seventeen). Dissatisfaction with the situation stimulated a number of attempts to correlate the subjects or to concentrate study around certain large centers of interests. In more recent years, "integration," "orientation," and "unit study" have been directed toward the cure of the same abuse. The organization of courses in general mathematics, general science, general language, general social science, general home economics, and general

art, previously described (Chap. Nineteen), should be remembered in this connection.

The effort to organize the school, or the school system, as an efficient machine entailed further difficulties. When the children were distributed into grades according to the average advancement of the group, when they were given uniform instruction and uniform tests, the interests of the individual tended to be forgotten. Moreover, the lockstep of progress through the grades proved to be too slow for the bright and too fast for the dull. Under such a system the child came to exist for the institution instead of the institution for the child.

Voices of protest were raised against the evils of the system more than fifty years ago. John Kennedy of Batavia, New York, and Preston W. Search of Pueblo, Colorado, among others, experimented with plans for individualized instruction. These suggestions were much talked about at the time, but they led to no general improvement in classroom procedure. Just a few years ago, Helen Parkhurst of Dalton, Massachusetts, and Carleton W. Washburne of Winnetka, Illinois, set forth forms of instruction which provided for individual progress on the "contract plan." The two plans, known respectively as the Dalton Plan and the Winnetka Plan, agree in principle but differ in details. Public school authorities have shown great interest in these and other efforts to provide for individual differences, such as homogeneous grouping and promotion by subject.

Criticism has been directed against the abuses of institutionalism and not against the concept itself. No one advocates following Rousseau back to Nature in education. Not even the most radical thinkers contend that education in a modern society can be conducted without the aid of schools, studies, or systematic organization under the direction of the state. The critics object most of all to the restrictions which institutions place upon individual development. In other words, their efforts are directed toward reforming rather than abolishing the tradition of institutionalism.

THE PROGRESSIVE IDEALIST

The critical attitude assumed by a number of leading theorists has developed into a philosophy of protest which may be aptly termed

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progressive idealism. The progressive idealist dissents from the institutionalist on almost every point. To begin with, he is an idealist who would not hamper individual freedom in mature life nor interfere with the child's right to develop his natural potentialities in school. He looks on the institution as a necessary evil and one that must be constantly watched to see that it does not suppress or enslave the child's individuality. His ideals are higher than the crass utilitarianism of the realist. He would not set up concrete objectives in education. Mass production, efficient organization, material output are, in his opinion, degrading to the high calling of the teacher. He would not have uniform instruction in all the schools or even in the same class, if it could be avoided. He protests against the mechanization of education by means of devices, formulas, rules, and general methods, and just as vigorously fights uniformity of instruction and standardization of schools. Teaching is to him an intimate personal relationship of pupil and teacher that cannot be prescribed by a higher authority or propagated by official decree. It is not the processing of raw materials.

The institutionalists think of democracy as a heritage to be preserved and transmitted to posterity by means of efficiently organized public schools, such as we have at present. The progressive idealists think of democracy as an emerging principle to be achieved sometime in the future by methods of education not yet generally employed in the conventional institutions.

THE FIRST NATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

The leader of the new school of thought was John Dewey, who stood head and shoulders above any of his followers. It is in order here to present a sketch of Dewey, his antecedents, and his philosophy. Until near the beginning of the present century American educational theory had, in large measure, been borrowed from Europe. The vogue of Froebel supplanted that of Herbart, just as the vogue of Herbart had, only a few years earlier, replaced that of Pestalozzi. In this, however, there was a sequence that contributed an evolutionary advance. The Herbartians, for instance, gave an impulse to the so-called scientific study of education, and the followers of Froebel pointed the direc-

tion of a forward movement. At the end of the last century the time was ripe for a distinctively American interpretation of the meaning of education; a genius capable of making such an interpretation was at hand in the person of John Dewey.

Born in Burlington, Vermont, in 1859, Dewey's lifetime comprehended the period of America's advance from an agrarian to an industrial society. A native-bred scholar, he spent the years of his maturity as a professor of philosophy, chiefly in the University of Chicago and in Columbia University. In the former he acquired a wide reputation as an educator through the practical demonstration of his pedagogical theory in the experimental school which he organized there. His doctrine of education, as set forth from the nineties onward, has been widely accepted not only in this country but in certain European and Oriental countries as well. Here it has had little competition for fifty years. This is not to say, however, that it has shaped the practice of all the schools. Although his theory is far in advance of the procedure of the typical public school, numerous institutions, public as well as private, have initiated reforms based on his theory. Dewey continued to protest against the conventional type of education. He moved with the current of the times, looking forward rather than backward. He has long been regarded as an oracle by the so-called progressive educators.

Dewey's philosophy of education is so elaborate that it would be difficult if not impossible to summarize the whole of it in a few paragraphs. In a historical study such as this, it will be necessary, however, to note his relation to the thought trends leading down to his time and to observe what he contributes on his own account. To begin with, it is desirable to impress upon the reader that Dewey's philosophy does not stand alone, separate and distinct from other philosophies. It represents merely an advance to a new position. It is the culmination of nineteenth-century thought as initiated by the early romantic thinkers (see p. 160) and supplemented by the theories of certain Germans, chief of whom was Froebel. Dewey's independence of thought, however, was more marked than that of any of his predecessors in American education. This was strikingly illustrated when, in a contribution to the *Herbart Yearbook for 1895*, he shattered the foundations of the "schoolmaster's philosophy," as he termed Herbartianism, and set forth

his own psychology of the child.¹³ In fact, Dewey was the first American who did not profess to be an interpreter of an earlier European theorist.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

On the side of pedagogical practice Dewey followed Froebel and Colonel Parker. He was intrigued by Froebel's theory of the school as a miniature community in which children learned through their own activity. With Colonel Parker he held that the theory of the kindergarten should prevail throughout the primary grades. While Dewey rejected a part of the theory and practice of his predecessors, he used much of it for the foundation of his own philosophy. For instance, he threw overboard Froebel's silly symbolism, substituted real dolls and toys for the German's geometrical forms, and equipped his practice school at the University of Chicago with the materials and implements of real life. By means of conversation, inquiry, construction, artistic expression, and a harmonious group life he sought to promote the child's mental growth.

Through the creation of an environment similar to that outside the school Dewey hoped not only to stimulate the child's interest but at the same time to enable the pupil to carry over his school experience into the life of the community. In his epoch-making little book, *School and Society* (1899), he wrote:

From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isolation of the school—its isolation from life. When the child gets into the schoolroom he has to put out of his mind a large part of the ideas, interests, and activities that predominate in his home and neighborhood. So the school, being unable to utilize this everyday experience, sets painfully to work, on

¹³ *Herbart Yearbook for 1895*, Second Supplement, "Interest as Related to the Will," by John Dewey, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1895.

another tack and by a variety of means, to arouse in the child an interest in school studies.¹⁴

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

The place of education in a democratic society has been kept constantly before the American people by propagandists from the Revolutionary period onward. Dewey has interpreted the familiar tradition for the present generation. The following excerpt sets forth his point of view:

Upon the educational side, we note first that the realization of a form of social life in which interests are mutually interpenetrating, and where progress, or readjustment, is an important consideration, makes a democratic community more interested than other communities have cause to be in deliberate and systematic education. The devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact. The superficial explanation is that a government resting upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated. Since a democratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest; these can be created only by education. But there is a deeper explanation. A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living; of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity. These more numerous and more varied points of contact denote a greater diversity of stimuli to which an individual has to respond; they consequently put a premium on variation in his action. They secure a liberation of powers which remain suppressed as long as the incitations to action are partial, as they must be in a group which in its exclusiveness shuts out many interests.¹⁵

¹⁴ John Dewey, *School and Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1899, p. 67. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

¹⁵ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 100-101. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.



Bettmann Archive

Painting of John Dewey, by Edwin B. Child

His conception of social efficiency as the aim of education grew out of his interpretation of democracy. For Dewey, education is life—life itself in a crowded industrial world in which a host of individuals of varying interests are striving to realize their potentialities. He found that the situation requires each individual to become economically self-sufficient and, at the same time, to coordinate his efforts in the interest of the common good. The proper balance of individual freedom and social responsibility is to be recognized. The refinement of the mind through personal culture he found not inconsistent with this conception of social efficiency.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. IX.

DEWEY'S RELATION TO THE SCIENTIFIC MOVEMENT

The advance of science is one of the conspicuous trends of the nineteenth century. The revolutionary social consequences of the application of scientific principles to industry have already been commented upon. The implication of these changes in the field of education now calls for attention. Dewey assumed responsibility for interpreting (1) the relation of science to social welfare, and (2) the relation of science to the methodology of education. In the most comprehensive of his works on education, *Democracy and Education* (1916), he revealed his position on the first of these issues as follows:

Science taking effect in human activity has broken down physical barriers which formerly separated men; it has immensely widened the area of intercourse. It has brought about interdependence of interests on an enormous scale. It has brought with it an established conviction of the possibility of control of nature in the interests of mankind and thus has led men to look to the future, instead of the past. The coincidence of the ideal of progress with the advance of science is not a mere coincidence. Before this advance men placed the golden age in remote antiquity. Now they face the future with a firm belief that intelligence properly used can do away with evils once thought inevitable. To subjugate devastating disease is no longer a dream; the hope of abolishing poverty is not utopian. Science has familiarized men with the idea of development, taking effect practically in persistent gradual amelioration of the estate of our common humanity.¹⁷

The large place which science occupies in the life of the present has led many to attach greater significance to materialistic properties than was formerly the case. Leading philosophers have fallen in with the trend. Dewey, following William James, had recourse to the doctrine of "pragmatism." According to this theory, an idea has no meaning apart from the activity to which it leads; in other words, it becomes real only through some form of expression. This conception removes the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

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age-old distinction between ideal and external reality. It places value where science would have it—on experimentation and the objects of experimentation. It thus becomes a realistic philosophy in the modern acceptance of the term.

Dewey applied the pragmatic theory to education in an effort to explain and justify the scientific method. In his opinion, purposive thinking is the only form of mental activity worthy of consideration. So important is it, in fact, that Dewey felt it incumbent upon himself to analyze the process. This he did so clearly and with such keen insight that his "five steps in thinking" became a sort of general method for teachers and student-teachers throughout the land. Familiarly known as the problem method, it has come to be used in the study of all subjects including that of education itself.

DEWEY'S CONTINUING INFLUENCE UPON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

From the first Dewey's influence has been exerted largely upon elementary education. The continuing influence of his doctrine, which at times has been misinterpreted by extremists, is evident in the present practices of the nursery school, the kindergarten, and primary grades. Although the organization of these schools may be separate, the socializing of the child is the dominant purpose running throughout. As the child grows from four to eight, he develops insight and understanding of home and community relationships. A democratic spirit prevails in the classrooms and in the informal group activities that make up the curriculum. The three R's are taught, not as formerly through organized drills and memory exercises, but incidentally through group discussions, singing, dramatization, observation, trips, and play. Gradually the child grasps an understanding of natural law, of community occupations, of transportation, recreational facilities, and fire and police protection.

HIS INFLUENCE UPON SECONDARY EDUCATION

Dewey's influence upon upper-grade and secondary education has been less pronounced. Here, logical organization, bolstered by college-

trained teachers and conservative college entrance requirements, yields but slowly. In recent years, however, propagandists for the experience curriculum, which has elsewhere been described (see p. 460), are making some headway, particularly in the junior high schools. Cooperative activities and informal group discussions in schools of all levels, including graduate seminars, now quite prevalent, show increasing respect for the socializing factor in education. A congenial relationship between teachers and pupils is now regarded as essential to the success of the educative process.

THE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION MOVEMENT

The history of American education would be incomplete without an ample account of the spectacular progressive education movement. To the extent that the movement represented a protest against the abuses of institutionalism, a liberal outlook on the modern world, and concern for the welfare of all the children of all the people, it may be identified with progressive idealism. But, when it became an organized cult equating the tenets of liberalism with those of socialism, it became a thing apart from the parent movement.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION: THE INDIVIDUALISTIC PHASE

The progressive education movement of the twentieth century was an offshoot of the earlier liberalism. It came by way of Colonel Francis W. Parker's teaching according to the theory of Froebel and Dewey's interpretation of this theory. In its earliest phase it stressed Froebel's naturalism in education, but harked back to Froebel's mentor, Rousseau, for its ideal of individual development. By 1920, the progressive Education Association had been organized and through its own magazine the movement was reaching teachers throughout the country. It was recognized by any one of a number of catch phrases such as "activity movement," "child-centered school," "activity curriculum," "creative youth," or "centers of interest." Espousing pragmatism with its realistic implications it promoted the project method. Always it was a protest against the inertia of the status quo, against the inherited rou-

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tines of institutionalized education, against the prevailing conservative philosophy of the schools.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION: THE SOCIALISTIC PHASE

Under the stress of the depression in the 1930's, the inequalities of financial status in the American democracy were widely publicized, and the pioneer trait, "rugged individualism," once held in high esteem, became a term of reproach. The schools, particularly those of the progressive persuasion, were denounced as nurseries of individualists. In response to popular clamor, the leaders of the progressive education movement began to emphasize socialization of the child rather than development of his individuality. Among the leaders, left-wing extremists abandoned the traditional ideals of democracy and shifted their allegiance to the ideal of a socialistic state supported by a tolerant and socially submissive citizenship. For a time, certain leaders looked hopefully to Soviet Russia for an example in socializing its citizens through the schools, but when Russia invaded Finland in 1939 and joined the forces of communism with those of Hitler's Fascism, these were compelled to make a choice of allegiance between American democracy and the totalitarianism of Stalin and Hitler. The effect upon the progressive education movement was almost instantaneous. Many teachers, who had ardently professed progressivism, deserted the movement. The Progressive Education Association, which had numbered its membership in the thousands, suddenly collapsed. The few who remained true to its ideals joined together to organize the New Education Fellowship, which still survives.

PROGRESSIVE IDEALISM CARRIES ON

In the current of the early 1950's there is an eddy of conservatism. The term progressive education has all but disappeared from education books, but many of the things for which it stood are still being propagated through these same books. This seems to indicate that the liberal spirit, which was at the heart of the progressive education movement, is still asserting itself, though not in the same ways. The evils of regimentation, repression, routine, and overstandardization, so character-

istic of many public schools, will need to be resisted in the future as in the past. Progressive idealism, whether or not supported by an organized movement, will continue to be the preoccupation of advanced theorists.

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. What arguments may be advanced in favor of institutionalized education?
2. Do you think that education has attained the stature of a science? Consult current periodicals on the subject.
3. What is meant by progressive education?
4. How do you stand on the issue of institutionalization vs. progressive idealism?

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A Pageant of American Schools

INTRODUCTION

The data on the history of education are by no means confined to public documents and dry treatises on teaching. American literature abounds with entrancing descriptions of old-time schools. Many distinguished men, including several of the ablest authors, have written autobiographical accounts of their school days which are now of historical interest. The reader will derive a truer picture of the schools of the past by reading the source materials just as they were written—a truer, and certainly a more enjoyable, picture than any that could be offered by a digest of the materials. Following, in a roughly chronological order and with little or no comment, is a group of selections from the original sources.

MORAL TRAINING OF A PURITAN BOY

The Reverend Thomas Brainerd, writing in 1865, described the moral training of the Puritan family from which he sprang. The rigorous discipline imposed by home and church continued to characterize New England family life for some time after the Revolutionary War.

A boy was early taught a profound respect for his parents, teachers, and guardians, and implicit, prompt obedience. If he undertook to rebel, "his will was broken" by persistent and adequate punishment. He was accustomed every morning and evening to bow at the family altar; and the Bible was his ordinary reading-book in school.

A Pageant of American Schools

He was never allowed to close his eyes in sleep without prayer on his pillow. At a sufficient age, no caprice, slight illness, nor any condition of roads or weather, was allowed to detain him from church. In the sanctuary he was required to be grave, strictly attentive, and able on his return at least to give the text. From sundown Saturday evening until the Sabbath sunset his sports were all suspended, and all secular reading laid aside; while the Bible, *New England Primer*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Baxter's *Saints' Rest*, etc., were commended to his ready attention and cheerfully pored over.

He was taught that his blessings were abundant and undeserved, his evils relatively few and merited, and that he was not only bound to contentment but gratitude. He was taught that time was a talent always to be improved; that industry was a cardinal virtue, and laziness the worst form of original sin. Hence he must rise early and make himself useful before he went to school; must be diligent there in study, and be promptly home to do "*chores*" at evening. His whole time out of school must be filled up by some service, such as bringing in fuel for the day, cutting potatoes for the sheep, feeding the swine, watering the horses, picking the berries, gathering the vegetables, spooling the yarn. He was expected never to be reluctant, and not often tired.

He was taught that it was a sin to find fault with his meals, his apparel, his tasks, or his lot in life. Labor he was not allowed to regard as a burden, nor abstinence from any improper indulgence as a hardship.

His clothes, woolen and linen, for summer and winter, were mostly spun, woven, and made up by his mother and sisters at home; and as he saw the whole laborious process of their fabrication, he was jubilant and grateful for two suits, with bright buttons, a year. Rents were carefully closed and holes patched in the "every day" dress, and the Sabbath dress always kept new and fresh.

He was expected early to have the "stops and marks," the "abbreviations," the "multiplication table," the "Ten Commandments," and the "Lord's Prayer," and the "Shorter Catechism," at his tongue's end.

Courtesy was enjoined as a duty. He must be silent among his superiors. If addressed by older persons, he must respond with a bow. He was to bow as he entered and left the school, and bow to every man or woman, old or young, rich or poor, black or white, whom he met on the road. Special punishment was visited on him

if he failed to show respect to the aged, the poor, the colored, or to any persons whatever whom God had visited infirmities. He was thus taught to stand in awe of the rights of humanity.

Honesty was urged as a religious duty, and unpaid debts were represented as infamy. He was allowed to be sharp at a bargain, to shudder at dependence, but still to prefer poverty to deception or fraud. His industry was not urged by poverty but by duty. Those who imposed upon him early responsibility and restraint led the way by their example, and commended this example by the prosperity of their fortunes and the respectability of their position as the result of these virtues. He felt that they governed and restrained him for his good, and not their own.¹

THE HOMESPUN ERA OF COMMON SCHOOLS

The Reverend Horace Bushnell, D. D., of Hartford, a native of the parish of New Preston, "composed of the corners of three towns (Washington, Woodbury, and New Milford) and the ragged ends and corners of twice as many mountains and stony-sided hills," in a discourse pronounced at the Centennial Celebration of Litchfield County in 1851, thus describes the schools of his boyhood.

But the schools—we must not pass by these, if we are to form a truthful and sufficient picture of the homespun days. The schoolmaster did not exactly go round the district to fit out the children's minds with learning, as the shoemaker often did to fit their feet with shoes, or the tailors to measure and cut for their bodies; but, to come as near it as possible, he boarded round (a custom not yet gone by,) and the wood for the common fire was supplied in a way equally primitive, viz., by a contribution of loads from the several families, according to their several quantities of childhood. The children were all clothed alike in homespun; and the only signs of aristocracy were, that some were clean and some a degree less so, some in fine white and striped linen, some in brown tow crash; and, in particular, as I remember, with a certain feeling of quality I do not like to express, the good fathers of some testified the opinion they had of their children, by bringing fine round loads of hickory

¹ Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, XVI (1866), 335.

wood to warm them, while some others, I regret to say, brought only scanty, scraggy, ill-looking heaps of green oak, white birch, and hemlock. Indeed, about all the bickerings of quality among the children, centered in the quality of the wood pile. There was no complaint, in those days, of the want of ventilation; for the large open fireplace held a considerable fraction of a cord of wood, and the windows took in just enough air to supply the combustion. Besides, the bigger lads were occasionally ventilated, by being sent out to cut wood enough to keep the fire in action. The seats were made of the outer slabs from the sawmill, supported by slant legs driven into and a proper distance through auger holes, and planed smooth on the top by the rather tardy process of friction. But the spelling went on bravely, and we ciphered away again and again always till we got through Loss and Gain. The more advanced of us, too, made light work of Lindley Murray, and went on to the parsing, finally, of extracts from Shakespeare and Milton, till some of us began to think we had mastered their tough sentences in a more consequential sense of the term than was exactly true. Oh, I remember (about the remotest thing I can remember) that low seat, too high, nevertheless, to allow the feet to touch the floor, and that friendly teacher who had the address to start a first feeling of enthusiasm and awaken the first sense of power. He is living still, and whenever I think of him, he rises up to me in the far background of memory, as bright as if he had worn the seven stars in his hair. (I said he is living; yes, he is here to-day, God bless him!) How many others of you that are here assembled, recall these little primitive universities of homespun, where your mind was born, with a similar feeling of reverence, and homely satisfaction. Perhaps you remember, too, with a pleasure not less genuine, that you received the classic discipline of the university proper, under a dress of homespun, to be graduated, at the close, in the joint honors of broadcloth and the parchment.²

THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR INTO THE SCHOOLS

The school-books of my earliest recollection were a cheap English spelling book, the Bible for the reading classes, and when we

² *Ibid.*, XIII (1863), 142-143.

got to ciphering, the "Schoolmaster's Assistant." The "Spelling Book" and "Assistant" were by Thomas Dilworth, an English schoolmaster at Wapping. The "Assistant" was a useful work, but has long since disappeared. The "counterfeit presentment" of the worthy author faced the title-page, and was familiarly known to every school-boy of my time. The Spelling Book contained a little elementary grammar, in which the English substantives were through all the cases (genitive, dative, etc.) of the Latin. But *grammar* was then an unknown study among us. Dilworth's "Spelling Book," however, was soon superseded by a greatly improved one, compiled by John Pierce, a respectable teacher of Delaware County, Pennsylvania. This comprised a tolerable English grammar, for that period, and John Forsythe introduced the study into his school with much zeal and earnestness. Intelligent employers were made to comprehend its advantages, and were pleased with the prospect of a hopeful advance in that direction; but dull boys and illiterate parents could not appreciate the benefit. Great boobies often got permission at home to evade the study, but they could not get around John Forsythe in that way. They would come into school with this promised indulgence, and loudly announce, "Daddy says I needn't *larn grammar*; it's no use," when the energetic response from the desk was, "I don't care what daddy says. He knows nothing about it; and I say thou shalt learn it!" and so some general notion of the subject was impressed upon the minds even of the stupid; while many of the brighter youths became excellent grammarians.³

SCHOOL REMINISCENCE OF THE REVEREND HENRY WARD BEECHER IN CONNECTICUT, ABOUT 1830

It was our misfortune, in boyhood, to go to a District School. It was a little square pine building, blazing in the sun, upon the highway, without a tree for shade or sight near it; without bush, yard, fence, or circumstance to take off its bare, cold, hard, hateful look.—Before the door, in winter, was the pile of wood for fuel, and in summer, there were all the chips of the winter's wood. In winter, we were squeezed into the recess of the farthest corner, among little boys, who seemed to be sent to school merely to fill up the chinks

³ *Ibid.*, XIII, 742. The quotation is taken from a letter by William Darlington, M.D., LL.D., of West Chester, Pa., dated December 21, 1860.

between the bigger boys. Certainly we were never sent for any such absurd purpose as an education. There were the great scholars—the school in winter was for *them*, not for us pickaninnies.—We were read and spelt twice a day, unless something happened to prevent, which *did* happen about every other day. For the rest of the time we were busy in keeping still. And a time we always had of it. Our shoes always would be scraping on the floor, or knocking the shins of urchins who were also being “educated.” All of our little legs together (poor, tired, nervous, restless legs, with nothing to do) would fill up the corner with such a noise, that every ten or fifteen minutes, the master would bring down his two-foot hickory ferule on the desk with a clap that sent shivers through our hearts, to think how that would have felt, if it had fallen somewhere else; and then, with a look that swept us all into utter extremity of stillness, he would cry, “silence! in that corner!” It would last for a few minutes; but, little boys’ memories are not capacious. . . .

Besides this, our principal business was to shake and shiver at the beginning of the school for very cold; and to sweat and stew for the rest of the time, before the fervid glances of a great box iron-stove, red-hot. There was one great event of horror and two of pleasure; the first was the act of *going to school*, comprehending the leaving off play, the face-washing and clothes-inspecting, the temporary play spell before the master came, the outcry “there he is; the master is coming,” the hurly-burly rush, and the noisy clattering to our seats. The other two events of pleasure, were the play-spell and the dismissal. Oh dear! can there be any thing worse for a lively, muscular, mirthful, active little boy, than going to a winter district-school? Yes. Going to a summer district-school! There is no comparison. The one is the Miltonic depth, below the deepest depth.

A woman kept the school, sharp, precise, unsympathetic, keen and untiring. Of all ingenious ways of fretting little boys, doubtless her ways were the most expert. Not a tree to shelter the house, the sun beat down on the shingles and clapboards till the pine knots shed pitchy tears; and the air was redolent of hot pine wood smell. The benches were slabs at an angle, cut, hacked, scratched; each year’s edition of jack-knife literature overlaying its predecessor, until the cuttings and carvings were two or three inches deep. But if *we* cut a morsel, or stuck in pins, or pinched off splinters, the little sharp-eyed mistress was on hand, and one look of her eye was worse

than a sliver in our foot, and one nip of her fingers was equal to a jab of a pin; for we had tried both.⁴

HORACE GREELEY'S FIRST TEACHER

Horace Greeley, the well-known journalist who was born in 1812, was sent to a district school in New Hampshire at three. He described his first teacher and the vicissitudes of the first year as follows:



Horace Greeley's First Schoolhouse

My first schoolmaster was David Woodburn Dickey, a nephew of my grandfather, a college graduate, and an able, worthy man, though rather a severe than a successful governor of youth. The district was large; there were ninety names on its roll of pupils,—many of them of full-grown men and women, not well broken to obedience and docility,—with an average attendance of perhaps sixty; all to be instructed in various studies, as well as ruled, by a single teacher, who did his very best, which included a liberal application of birch and ferule. He was a cripple; and it was all he could do, with his

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI (1866), 135–136.

high spirit and unquestioned moral superiority, to retain the mastery of the school.⁵

HORACE GREELEY DESCRIBES THE SCHOOLBOOKS OF HIS CHILDHOOD

. . . When I first went to school, Webster's Spelling-Book was just supplanting Dilworth's; "The American Preceptor" was pushing aside "The Art of Reading"; and the only grammar in use was "The Ladies' Accidence," by Caleb Bingham,—as poor an affair as its name would indicate. Geography was scarcely studied at all, while chemistry, geology, and other departments of natural science had never been heard of in rural school-houses. "Morse's Geography," which soon came into vogue, was a valuable compend of political and statistical information; but, having barely one map, would scarcely pass for a school geography now. Very soon, Lindley Murray's Grammar and English Reader came into fashion,—solid works, but not well adapted to the instruction of children of eight to fourteen years. . . . Daniel Adams (a New Hampshire man, now lately deceased) had not then published his lucid and favorite Arithmetic, or, if he had, it had not reached us; Pike's far more difficult work was in general use. I cannot say what progress has very recently been made; but Greenleaf, some thirty or forty years since, shortened the time and effort required to gain a decent knowledge of English grammar by at least one half. I believe like progress has been made in elementary treatises in other departments of knowledge.

The first book I ever owned was "The Columbian Orator," given to me by my uncle Perry (husband of my father's oldest sister), as I lay very sick of the measles at my maternal grandfather's, when about four years of age. Those who happened to have been familiar, in its day, with that volume, will recollect it as a medley of dialogues, extracts from orations, from sermons, from speeches in Parliament, in Congress, and at the Bar, with two or three versified themes for declamation, such as "Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise!" and the lines (since attributed to Edward Everett,⁶

⁵ Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, J. B. Ford & Company, New York, 1872, p. 42.

⁶ Their author, I have learned since the above was first printed, was Moses Everett, a Massachusetts teacher of sixty to eighty years ago.

but who must have written them very young, if he wrote them at all) beginning, "You'd scarce expect one of my age to speak in public on the stage,"—lines which I was dragged forward to recite incessantly, till I fairly loathed them. This "Orator" was my prized text-book for years, and I became thoroughly familiar with its contents; though I cannot say that I ever learned much of value from it,—certainly not oratory. The first large work that I ever read consecutively was the Bible, under the guidance of my mother, when I was about five years old.⁶

THE INFLUENCE OF MCGUFFEY'S READERS

In 1836 McGuffey compiled, for a firm of publishers in Cincinnati, a First and Second Reader; and in 1837 a Third and Fourth. In 1841, with the assistance of his brother, he compiled the Fifth, first known as "McGuffey's Rhetorical Guide." In 1851 the five Readers were made into six. The series was revised five times. The last revision was copyrighted in 1901. They were still being sold in 1927. Their vogue endured from the Presidency of Martin Van Buren to that of Theodore Roosevelt. Children studied McGuffey's, grew up, had children who in turn studied McGuffey's; these again had children who read McGuffey's sixty years after their grandparents had begun with them. In a country prone to change, McGuffey's had permanence for a strikingly long time.

The compilation and publication of McGuffey's Readers coincided with the time when the idea of free common schools was getting into swing. By that, and by the energy of the publishers, but more by the merit of the compiler, the McGuffey Readers "attained the largest sales that have as yet been accorded by the public to a single series of books."

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The comprehensive purpose of McGuffey's Readers is to be found in sentences from the Prefaces:

. . . to obtain as wide a range of leading authors as possible, to present the best specimens of style, to insure interest in the subjects, to impart valuable information, and to exert a decided and healthful moral influence.

⁶ Greeley, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–46.

LESSON XXVIII.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. PER-SE-VERE'; v. to continue. | 2. WIN; v. to gain; to obtain. |
| 1. COUR'AGE; n. resolution. | 3. RE-WARD'; n. any thing given |
| 1. CON'QUER; v. to gain the vic- | in return for good or bad |
| tory. | conduct. |
| 2. PRE-VAIL'; v. to overcome. | 3. PA'TIENCE; n. constancy in |
| 2. DIS-GRACE'; n. shame. | labor. |
-

TRY, TRY AGAIN.

UTTER each sound *distinctly*. Do not say *firs*s for first; 'pear for ap-pear; lass for last; tass for task; yourreward for your reward. See Ex. V, pages 27 and 28.

1. 'T is a lesson you should heed,
Try, try again;
If at first you don't +succeed,
Try, try again;
Then your courage should +appear,
For, if you will persevere,
You will conquer, never fear;
Try, try again.
2. Once or twice though you should fail,
Try, try again;
If you would at last prevail,
Try, try again;
If we strive, 't is no disgrace,
Though we do not win the race;
What should you do in the case?
Try, try again.
3. If you find your task is hard,
Try, try again;
Time will bring you your +reward,
Try, try again;

Page from McGuffey's New Fourth Eclectic Reader, 1867

These purposes corresponded with the effects McGuffey's had on four generations of American life. McGuffey's was the source of America's taste in reading—for many average Americans, the only reading of poetry or classic prose they ever had. Along with that, McGuffey's was the source of that stock of points of view and

tastes held in common, which constituted much of America's culture, in codes of morals and conduct, its standards of propriety, its homely aphorisms, its "horse-sense" axioms. In this field McGuffey's embodied, of course, some points of view common to civilization everywhere; but McGuffey's also taught and accounted for mental attitudes and ethical concepts which differentiated America from other peoples, or were more emphasized in America than elsewhere. In this respect, McGuffey was a kind of American Confucius, the latter, like the former, taking his sayings from the accumulated lore of the race. McGuffey's had the effect of having combed the whole folk-lore of the human species, as well as its printed literature, for stories and fables conveying the race's familiar wisdom. Some fables came from as far back as Æsop; others retold bits of homely truth that had been crystallized generations before by British people—many of the scenes of McGuffey's stories had a British setting. Yet others of McGuffey's stories and aphorisms were indigenous to America, lessons learned by pioneer contact with the frontier of a new country, experiences with Indians and wild animals. At all times and in every respect, McGuffey's Readers had a strong flavor of religion; much of its contents was Puritan and evangelical, none was inconsistent with the religion of Calvin and Knox.⁷

GENERAL GRANT'S DESCRIPTION OF OHIO SCHOOLS IN THE EIGHTEEN HUNDRED THIRTIES

The schools, at the time of which I write, were very indifferent. There were no free schools, and none in which the scholars were classified. They were all supported by subscription, and a single teacher—who was often a man or a woman incapable of teaching much, even if they imparted all they knew—would have thirty or forty scholars, male and female, from the infant learning the A B C's up to the young lady of eighteen and the boy of twenty, studying the highest branches taught—the three R's, "Reading, 'Riting, 'Rithmetic." I never saw an algebra, or other mathematical work higher than the arithmetic, in Georgetown, until after I was

⁷ Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, Vol. II, *America Finding Herself*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1927, pp. 19-23.

appointed to West Point. I then bought a work on algebra in Cincinnati; but having no teacher it was Greek to me.⁸

COLLEGE LIFE ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

I must say a word or two now in regard to the ordinary routine of daily life at college. . . . Very early in the morning, the observer may see lights at a few of the windows of the buildings inhabited by the students. They mark the rooms occupied by the more industrious or more resolute, who rise and devote an hour or two to their books by lamp-light on the winter mornings. About the break of day, the bell awakens the multitude of sleepers in all the rooms, and in a short time they are to be seen issuing from the various doors, with sleepy looks, and with books under their arms, and some adjusting their hurried dress. The first who come down, go slowly, others with quicker and quicker step, as the tolling of the bell proceeds:—and the last few stragglers run with all speed, to secure their places before the bell ceases to toll. When the last stroke is sounded, it usually finds one or two too late, who stop suddenly, and return slowly to their rooms.

The President or one of the professors, reads a portion of Scripture by the mingled light of the pulpit lamps, and the beams which come in from the reddening eastern sky. He then offers the morning prayer. The hundreds of young men before him exhibit the appearance of respectful attention, except that four or five, appointed for the purpose, in different parts of the chapel, are looking carefully around to observe and note upon their bills the absentees. A few also, not fearing God or regarding their duty, conceal under their cloaks, or behind a pillar or a partition between the pews, the book which contains their morning lesson:—and attempt to make up, as well as the faint but increasing light will enable them, for the time wasted in idleness or dissipation on the evening before. When prayers are over the several classes repair immediately to the rooms assigned respectively to them, and recite the first lesson of the day.

⁸ Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, C. L. Webster & Company, New York, 1885, I, 24.

During the short period which elapses between the recitation and the breakfast bell, college is a busy scene. Fires are kindling in every room. Groups are standing in every corner, or hovering around the newly made fires;—parties are running up and down the stairs two steps at a time, with the ardor and activity of youth:—and now and then, a fresh crowd is seen issuing from the door of some one of the buildings, where a class has finished its recitation, and comes forth to disperse to their rooms;—followed by their instructor, who walks away to his house in the village. The breakfast bell brings out the whole throng again, and gathers them around the long tables in the Common's Hall, or else scatters them among the private families in the neighborhood.

An hour after breakfast, the bell rings to mark the commencement of study-hours:—when the students are required by college laws to repair to their respective rooms, which answer the three-fold purpose of parlor, bedroom, and study, to prepare for their recitation at eleven o'clock. They, however, who choose to evade this law, can do it without much danger of detection. The great majority comply, but some go into their neighbors' rooms to receive assistance in their studies, some lay aside the dull text-book and read a tale, or play a game; and others, farther gone in the road of idleness and dissipation, steal secretly away from college, and ramble in the woods, or skate upon the ice, or find some rendezvous of dissipation in the village, evading their tasks like truant boys. They, of course, are marked as absent; but pretended sickness will answer for an excuse, they think, once or twice, and they go on, blind to the certainty of the disgrace and ruin which must soon come.

The afternoon is spent like the forenoon, and the last recitation of the winter's day, is just before the sun goes down. An hour is allotted to it, and then follow evening prayers, at the close of which the students issue from the chapel, and walk in long procession to supper.

It is in the evening, however, that the most striking peculiarities of college life exhibit themselves. Sometimes literary societies assemble, organized and managed by the students, where they hold debates, or entertain each other with declamations, essays, and dialogues. Sometimes a religious meeting is held, attended by a portion of the professors of religion and conducted by an officer;

at other times the students remain in their rooms, some quietly seated by their fire, one on each side, reading, writing, or preparing the lessons for the following morning:—others assemble for mirth and dissipation, or prowl around the entries and halls, to perpetrate petty mischief, breaking the windows of some hapless tutor,—or burning nauseous drugs . . . at the keyhole of his door,—or rolling logs down stairs, and running instantly into a neighboring room so as to escape detection;—or watching at an upper window to pour water unobserved upon some fellow student passing in or out below;—or plugging up the keyhole of the chapel door, to prevent access to it for morning prayers;—or gaining access to the bell by false keys, and cutting the rope or filling it with water to freeze during the night:—or some other of the thousand modes of doing mischief to which the idle and flexible Sophomore is instigated by some calculating, and malicious mischief-maker in the higher class. After becoming tired of this, they gather together in the room of some dissolute companion, and there prepare themselves a supper, with food they have plundered from a neighboring poultry yard, and utensils obtained in some similar mode. Ardent spirits sometimes makes them noisy;—and a college officer, at half past nine, breaks in upon them, and exposure and punishment are the consequences;—disgrace, suspension, and expulsion for themselves, and bleeding hearts for parents and sisters at home. At other times, with controlled and restrained indulgence, they sit till midnight, sowing the bitter seeds of vice; undermining health, destroying all moral sensibility, and making almost sure the ruin of their souls.

In the mean time, the officers of the institution, with a fidelity and an anxious interest, which is seldom equalled by any solicitude except that which is felt by parents for their children, struggle to resist the tide. They watch, they observe, they have constant records kept, and in fact, they go as far as it is possible to go, in obtaining information about the character and history of each individual, without adopting a system of espionage, which the nature of the institution, and the age of a majority of the pupils, renders neither practicable nor proper. They warn every individual who seems to be in danger, with greater and greater distinctness, according to the progress he seems to be making, and as soon as evidence will justify it, they remove every one whose stay seems dangerous

to the rest; but still the evil will increase, in spite of all the ordinary human means, which can be brought against it.⁹

THE HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY IN MASSACHUSETTS ABOUT 1865

The course of study in the high school covered three years. It was a curious compound. In recent discussions concerning election of studies the opponents of change lay great stress on the wisdom and experience of school authorities, contrasting it with the "mere caprice" of students. But no schoolboy in the freedom of wildest caprice would devise for himself a course of study more absurd than the one prescribed for us all by the wise and experienced principal and his official superiors, the ministers and doctors. The students in the old academy which the high school superseded could not have failed to find more agreeable and profitable work than confronted us.

There were never more than two or three boys at a time preparing for college. But the curriculum was planned largely with them in view. There were three years of Latin, and nearly half of this time, sixty weeks, was given to Vergil, because Harvard required for admission the whole of the *Aeneid*. Noncollege students read no other Latin author. There was a year of algebra and a year of geometry.

Harvard required Worcester's *Ancient history*. So all the students spent the first term on that book, the driest compend of names and dates ever published. This was all the history in the course. English was represented by a year of rhetoric. A half dozen sciences had each a term, and one term was given to Wayland's *Moral science*. There were two years of French. The college boys took the history and the mathematics, and spent all the rest of the time on Latin and Greek, with an occasional dab at some science.

The dose prescribed for all the students by the educational experts of the time was supposed to be useful for mental discipline. Few liked it, but this made it all the more effective. Some hated it.

⁹ Jacob Abbott, *Young Christian Series*. Vol. II, *The Corner-Stone*, pp. 333-337, Harper & Brothers, 1858. The college described is Amherst in 1827, which the author thought to be typical of New England colleges.

They got the most good out of it, the "inner resistance" being greater, according to some recent authorities. But more than half the scholars were disciplined out of school by it.¹⁰

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS TO TEACHERS IN THE CALIFORNIA
STATE COURSE OF STUDY 1866-1867

The tact and skill of teachers will be shown in the arrangement of the general exercises of the whole school, or for two grades united. Some of these exercises should be as follows: In arithmetic, drill exercises of five minutes in mental examples, at least twice a week; slate and blackboard exercises of five minutes in adding columns of figures, for first, second, and third grades together; exercises in four elementary rules.

Declamations for the boys, and select readings or recitations of poetry by the girls, weekly or semi-monthly. Physical exercises daily, such as free gymnastic and other exercises, according to Lewis' or Watson's handbooks.

Spelling matches in oral spelling, uniting the three highest grades. Written spelling in the same manner.

General exercises of three grades in letter writing. Drill exercises of the whole school in penmanship, position at the desk, holding the pen, and elements of letters.

Allowing the pupils of one grade to question those of another on any one of the school studies. Object lesson for the whole school. Singing should be a daily exercise, if possible.

Manners and Morals.—General lessons on such topics as lying, stealing, profanity, intemperance, idleness, industry, honesty, truthfulness, duties to parents, obedience to authority.

Indispensable School Apparatus.—Willson's School and Family Charts, Cornell's Outline Maps, Map of California, a globe, Webster's New Pictorial Dictionary, set of writing charts, numeral frame, set of alphabet blocks, box of geometrical solids, a foot rule and a tape line; gill, pint, and quart measures; ounce, quarter pound, half pound, and pound weights (avoirdupois) and scales

¹⁰ George H. Martin, "My Schools and Schoolmasters," *Educational Review*, XXIII (1902), 189-190.

for experiments in weighing, a box of beans or marbles, a school cabinet.¹¹

DISTRICT SCHOOL

By a District School, in this connection, is understood a public school open to all the children of the district, of both sexes, and of the school age recognized by the practice of the district, or the regulations of the school committee of the town to which such district belongs. It is an unclassified school, and is taught in one apartment, by one teacher, usually without any assistance even from older pupils of the school. It varies in the character of its scholars, and its methods of instruction, from summer to winter, and from winter to summer. In summer, the younger children and classes in the elementary studies predominate, and in the winter the older pupils, and classes in the more advanced studies, whilst some of both extremes, as to age and studies, are to be found in both the winter and summer session of the district school. This variety of ages and studies, and consequent variety of classes, increased by the irregularity of attendance, is not only a serious hindrance to the proper arrangement, instruction and government of the school, but presents almost insuperable obstacles to the appropriate construction and furniture of the school-house, which is too often erected on the smallest possible scale and size and expense. A vast amount of physical suffering and discomfort to the pupils is the necessary result of crowding the older and younger pupils into a small apartment, without seats and furniture appropriate to either, and especially when no precaution has been taken to adapt the supply and arrangements of seats and desks according to the very circumstances of the same school in winter and summer. In every district, or unclassified school, the school-room should be fitted up with seats and desks for the older and younger pupils, sufficient to accommodate the maximum attendance of each class of scholars at any season of the year. And if this cannot be effected, and only a sufficient number of seats can be secured to accommodate the highest number of both sexes in attendance at any

¹¹ *Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of California, 1866-1867, pp. 291-292.*

one time, then in winter the seats and desks for the smaller children should be removed to the attic, and their place supplied by additional seats and desks for the older pupils; and in summer this arrangement should be reversed.¹²

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE DISTRICT SCHOOL

Edward Brooks, who later became superintendent of the city schools in Philadelphia, describes the discipline of a district school which he attended near the middle of the nineteenth century.

The methods of discipline of "Old Fales," which were largely typical of the methods of the times, deserve a passing notice. He had the reputation of being a "good disciplinarian," which was a strong point in a teacher's qualifications in those days. He was well supplied with rulers, both round and flat, and with well-seasoned rods, birch and hickory, which hung on nails over his desk. The rulers were used for the hands, occasionally the round one for the head, and the rods of course for the back. He kept a very still school—the excellence of a school in those days was measured by its silence; except now and then he would have "whispering periods" and give us a chance to whisper. If a pupil was seen to whisper at other times or to be in mischief, a ruler would be thrown at or near him which he was expected to bring and hand to the master, and unless he was very quick he would receive a rap on his fingers as the master took the ruler. For grave offenses the whip was used, and sometimes with great severity—one of my cousins was made to remove a part of his clothing and was whipped on the bare skin until the blood flowed. Boys were often hit upon the head with the heavy round ruler until a lump was raised as large as a robin's egg; a sort of phrenological educational development that preceded the days of Fowler and Wells. I was fortunate enough never to be whipped by him, tho' he once struck me upon the head for some trifling cause, which, on the suggestion to him by my father that he preferred I should be whipped if I deserved punishment rather than be struck upon the head, was never repeated. Other penalties were—seating a bashful boy among the

¹² "District School, 1849," *American Journal of Education*, IX, 526, a part of the Report of the Committee on School Architecture.

girls, standing upon the floor, standing bent over so that the finger touched a point on the floor, standing with the arm outstretched with a book or a piece of stove-wood in the hand, standing against the wall on the tiptoes so as to keep the finger at a point on the wall, with the prospect of a blow from the whip if the finger fell below the mark.¹³

SCHOOL RULES

Many schoolmasters employed the practice of posting in the school room a list of rules and penalties for the government of their pupils. Charles L. Coon in *North Carolina Schools and Academies*¹⁴ quotes such a list in use in a school located in Stokes County of that state in 1848. The spelling is that of the original.

NO.	RULES OF SCHOOL	LASHES
1.	Boys & Girls Playing Together	4
2.	Quareling	4
3.	Fighting	5
4.	Fighting at School	5
5.	Quareling at School	3
6.	Gambling or Beting at School	4
7.	Playing at Cards at School	10
8.	Climbing for Every foot Over three feet up a tree	1
9.	Telling Lyes	7
10.	Telling Tales Out of School	8
11.	Nick Naming Each Other	4
12.	Giving Each Other Ill Names	3
13.	Fighting Each Other in Time of Books	2
14.	Swearing at School	8
15.	Blackgarding Each Other	6
16.	For Misbehaving to Girls	10
17.	For Leaving School without Leave of the Teacher	4
18.	Going Home with Each Other without Leave of the Teacher	4
19.	For Drinking Spirituous Liquors at School	8
20.	Making Swings & Swinging on Them	7

¹³ Edward Brooks, "My Schools and Schoolmasters," *Educational Review*, XXII (1901), 358-359.

¹⁴ Charles L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies (1790-1840)*, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, Raleigh, N.C., pp. 163-164.

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NO.	RULES OF SCHOOL	LASHES
21.	For Misbehaving when a Stranger is in the House	6
22.	For Wearing Long Finger Nailes	2
23.	For Not Making a Bow when a Stranger Comes in or goes out	3
24.	Misbehaving to Persons on the Road	4
25.	For not Making a Bow when you Meet a Person	4
26.	For Going to Girls' Play Places	3
27.	Girls Going to Boys' Play Places	2
28.	Coming to School with Dirty Face and Hands	2
29.	For Caling Each Other Liars	4
30.	For Playing Bandy	10
31.	For Bloting Your Copy Book	2
32.	For Not Making a bow when you go home and when you come away ...	4
33.	Wrestling at School	4
34.	Scuffling at School	4
36.	For not making Bow when Going out to go Home	2
37.	For Weting Each Other Washing at Play Time	2
38.	Girls going to Boys' Play Places	2
39.	For Hollowing and Hooping Going Home	3
40.	For Delaying Time Going Home or Coming to School	4
41.	For Not Making a Bow when you come in or go out	2
42.	For Throwing anything harder than your trab ball	4
43.	For every word you mis in your Heart Lesson without Good Excuse	1
43.	For not saying yes Sir & no Sir or yes marm or no marm	2
44.	For Troubling Each Others Writing affairs	2
45.	For not Washing at Play time when going to Books	4
46.	For going and Playing about the Mill or Creek	6
47.	For Going about the Barn or doing any mischief about the place	7

November 10, 1848

WM. A. CHAFFIN

SIZE OF SCHOOL-HOUSES IN MICHIGAN, 1847

Although there is a great variety in the dimensions of school houses, yet there are few less than sixteen by eighteen feet on the ground, and fewer still larger than twenty-four by thirty feet. Exclusive of entry and closets, when they are furnished with these appendages, school-houses are not usually larger than twenty by twenty-four feet on the ground, and seven feet in height. They are, indeed, more frequently smaller than larger. School houses of these dimensions have a capacity of three thousand three hundred and sixty cubic feet, and are usually occupied by at least forty-five

scholars in the winter season. Not unfrequently sixty or seventy, and occasionally more than a hundred scholars occupy a room of this size.¹⁵

COMMON ERRORS IN SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE, 1847

Under this head it will be sufficient to enumerate the principal features of school-houses as they are.

They are, almost universally, badly located, exposed to the noise, dust and danger of the highway, unattractive, if not positively repulsive in their external and internal appearance, and built at the least possible expense of material and labor.

They are too small. There is no separate entry for boys and girls appropriately fitted up; no sufficient space for the convenient seating and necessary movements of the scholars; no platform, desk, or recitation room for the teacher.

They are badly lighted. The windows are inserted on three or four sides of the room, without blinds or curtains to prevent the inconvenience and danger from cross-lights, and the excess of light falling directly on the eyes or reflected from the book, and the distracting influence of passing objects and events out of doors.

They are not properly ventilated. The purity of the atmosphere is not preserved by providing for the escape of such portions of the air as have become offensive and poisonous by the process of breathing, and by the matter which is constantly escaping from the lungs in vapor, and from the surface of the body in insensible perspiration.

They are imperfectly warmed. The rush of cold air through cracks and defects in the doors, windows, floor and plastering is not guarded against. The air which is heated is already impure from having been breathed, and made more so by noxious gases arising from the burning of floating particles of vegetable and animal matter coming in contact with the hot iron. The heat is not equally diffused, so that one portion of a school-room is frequently overheated, while another portion, especially the floor, is too cold.

They are not furnished with seats and desks, properly made and adjusted to each other, and arranged in such a manner as to

¹⁵ *American Journal of Education*, IX, 516. Extract from report of State Superintendent Ira Mayhew of Michigan, 1847.

promote the comfort and convenience of the scholars, and the easy supervision on the part of the teacher. The seats are too high and too long, with no suitable support for the back, and especially for the younger children. The desks are too high for the seats, and are either attached to the wall on three sides of the room, so that the faces of the scholars are turned from the teacher, and a portion of them at least are tempted constantly to look out at the windows,—or the seats are attached to the wall on opposite sides, and the scholars sit facing each other. The aisles are not so arranged that each scholar can go to and from his seat, change his position, have access to his books, attend to his own business, be seen and approached by the teacher, without incommoding any other.

They are not provided with blackboards, maps, clock, thermometer, and other apparatus and fixtures which are indispensable to a well regulated and instructed school.

They are deficient in all of those in and out-door arrangements which help to promote habits of order, and neatness, and cultivate delicacy of manners and refinement of feeling. There are no verdure, trees, shrubbery and flowers for the eye, no scrapers and mats for the feet, no hooks and shelves for cloaks and hats, no well, no sink, basin and towels to secure cleanliness, and no places of retirement for children of either sex, when performing the most private offices of nature.¹⁶

A NEW TYPE OF SCHOOL BUILDING

In 1848, the Quincy School-house was erected, [in Boston] a description of which is contained in Barnard's *School Architecture*. This building was not, properly speaking, a modification of what had preceded it, either here or elsewhere. *It was a new type*. Its main features were these.

1. It was large. Up to this time, a Grammar School containing four hundred pupils was considered very large. This building has six hundred and sixty seats in its school-rooms, exclusive of the hall.

2. It contained a separate school-room for each teacher, twelve in all, and, of course, recitation rooms were not needed.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 491–492.

3. It contained a hall large enough to seat comfortably, all the pupils that could be accommodated in the school-rooms, and even more.

4. It contained a clothes-room attached to each school-room, through which the *pupils* passed in entering and leaving their respective rooms.

5. It contained a separate desk and chair for each pupil. This was probably the first Grammar School-house into which this feature was introduced.¹⁷

LIFE IN THE LAWRENCE ACADEMY, GROTON, 1864

That year at Groton was enjoyable and profitable. The principal, William Hutchison, was the only teacher I ever had whom I recognized as having done much for me personally. He was in many ways the best specimen of manhood I had ever come in contact with, and he raised my ideals, not only of scholarship, but of intellectual grasp and moral tone. I felt that, whatever his original limitations, a boy could become about any sort of a man he had the ambition to make himself, and that it was worth while to aim high. If I could have held to the ideals with which I went away from Groton I should at least have been saved a good many things that I regret. It is a great thing to have such an influence over others as Mr. Hutchison had upon me and, I think, upon all the members of the senior class, which was under his immediate instruction.

As a teacher his work was unequal. I afterward found my Latin so full of flaws that I have always suspected his; and he did not know enough of mathematics to know that he knew nothing of it—even we boys smiled indulgently at his attempts to cover up his ignorance of algebra. But in Greek he was a master, not only in detail, but in spirit, for he loved the language and the lines. We really went to Yale too well fitted in Greek, for the first term was spent in listening to drill of the rest of the class in what was familiar to us, and I for one grew careless.

I had no instruction at Groton outside of mathematics and

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 545–546, “A New Type of School Building,” description by Supt. John D. Philbrick of the Quincy Schoolhouse, Boston, built in 1848.

classics. There was no French, or German, or English, or history, or science. When it came to commencement parts Mr. Hutchison suggested to me as a subject Washington Irving, and was quite disgusted that I had never read a line of his writings.

However, the academy had a pretty good library, and tho I did not happen to hit upon Washington Irving, I read a great deal that year. I recollect buying in Boston before I entered the academy second-hand copies of Euclid and of Shakspeare. That old leather-covered Shakspeare printed from worn-out plates was a great delight to me. Poetry pure and simple I had never supposed I had a taste for, but while browsing in the library I picked up Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, and became so interested in it that I read the rest of Scott's poems, and finally ran over the entire twenty-one big double-columned volumes of Chalmer's English poets, not reading everything, but reading considerable and getting quite a bird's-eye view of English verse.

We used to get something out of the "Dialectic," which met, I think, every week, and where we debated and read essays. There was some good honest work there, of which I have since felt the benefit.¹⁸

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS ATTENDS PUBLIC SCHOOL IN
NEW HAVEN, 1870

The late William Lyon Phelps, distinguished literary light, has left us an inimitable account of his public school days in New Haven, Connecticut, in the year 1870.

When I was five I entered the regular public district Grammar School, called after the famous lexicographer, Webster School. I was the youngest and smallest boy in the establishment, and was in daily fear of the Irish lads, whom we called Micks. The boys and girls in this school represented every layer of society in New Haven; for on Crown Street dwelt many families of considerable affluence, while Oak Street and Morocco Street belonged to the slums. . . .

I have no recollection of learning to read; when I entered this

¹⁸ C. W. Bardeen, "My Schools and Schoolmasters," *Educational Review*, XXII (1901), 238-239.

school at the age of five, I could read aloud with ease, and it was only a five-syllabled word like 'particularly' that gave me any difficulty. I had a naturally good ocular memory for words and three times in the 'spelling down' matches I was the last survivor. Pride goeth before a fall; for on the fourth contest, I was one of the first to go down. The teacher pronounced the word "gem," which I had never heard and had no recollection of having seen. I spelled it "jem."

In later years my heart ached for those women teachers. The filth and dirt the boys brought into the schoolroom, the insolent manner in which they answered the teacher's questions, the ribald laughter that resounded on occasions skilfully prepared to produce it! No boy ever rose to recite without finding crooked pins, or tacks (and I remember one file) put in his chair to greet his down-sitting—then came the exaggerated howl of pain and rage, the back-handed blow, the teacher's vain remonstrance. Spitballs flew around the room, falling on the just and on the unjust.

One of the bigger and tougher boys ceased to be a problem at school, for he was arrested for rape, and sent to jail. His crime and his fate were for many months a subject of conversation.

I have often wondered whether I was really a physical coward at school or whether, because of my tender years and tiny size, my awareness of incapacity made me timid. However that may be, one of the innumerable advantages of growing up is getting rid of chronic fear. Because I was easily terrified, my heroes were naturally the tough boys and they never suspected my worship. At Christmas we all exchanged gifts anonymously, and then at a certain moment, every boy and girl opened the package on his desk. I had made my gift to the roughest and most dare-devil lad in the room. His desk was not far from mine; and when we both opened our parcels, he sneered at me and mine, insisting that he had got a much better present than the one that fell to me. I did not dare tell him I was his benefactor.

He was secretly my hero, because when most of the boys were whipped by the teacher, they cried, and he always laughed out loud. The harder she struck him, the more he laughed. I have never got over my admiration and wonder at this spectacle. When we were whipped, we had to hold out a hand, and the teacher hit it with a rattan stick. He would hold out his hand, and when she was

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through, he would offer the other one, laughing with delight. There were nine or ten whippings every day.

An excellent illustration of the mystery of personality was in daily evidence. There were twelve rooms. Every room had a female teacher and these twelve disciples in turn were ruled by a male principal. Every teacher and every boy and girl in the building were in mortal terror of this man; he was legendary. He dwelt apart in some throne room aloft; and it was quite possible to spend a year at the school and never set eyes on him. But his invisible presence was a terrific actuality. The teachers seldom appealed to the Supreme Court. Thus, I shall never forget my amazement one day while my tough hero was getting an unusually prolonged whipping from the teacher and treating it with more than usual risibility, she suddenly lost patience and said, 'I will send you up to Mr. Lewis.' My hero collapsed; his mirth changed to pleading terror. "Oh, don't send me to Mr. Lewis! I'll do anything you say, only don't please send me to Mr. Lewis!"

What Mr. Lewis did to these lads no one ever knew, but strange tales came from these mysterious interviews. Perhaps he never laid hands on them; just looked at them until they were petrified with fear. He was the one salvation of the women teachers, and for over forty years he presided over that whirlwind of childish savagery, disorder, corruption, and sin, and somehow made citizens out of that unpromising material. One day, coming out after school was over, he spoke to me kindly, with a smile. I was in such terror I could say nothing; but as soon as I got around the corner I ran for my life.

Once in a while he would walk through our schoolroom, without looking at anybody or speaking a word. The most absolute silence marked his advent. He seemed to me of colossal size. Years afterwards, when I returned to New Haven, I marvelled at his tiny frame and puny appearance. Was this grey-haired little man the ogre of my childhood? For the strange thing is, that even in the vile language used at recess, no boy even then took his name in vain. John Lewis was a genius of discipline.¹⁹

¹⁹ William Lyon Phelps, *Autobiography with Letters*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1939, pp. 12, 14-16. Reprinted with permission of the owner of the rights, Mrs. Celeste Phelps Osgood.

HAMLIN GARLAND'S SCHOOL DAYS ON THE PRAIRIES IN
THE SEVENTIES

The school-house which was to be the center of our social life stood on the bare prairie about a mile to the southwest and like thousands of other similar buildings in the west, had not a leaf to shade it in summer nor a branch to break the winds of savage winter. "There's been a good deal of talk about setting out a wind-break," neighbor Button explained to us, "but nothing has as yet been done." It was merely a square pine box painted a glaring white on the outside and a desolate drab within; at least drab was the original color, but the benches were mainly so greasy and hacked that original intentions were obscured. It had two doors on the eastern end and three windows on each side.

A long square stove (standing on slender legs in a puddle of bricks), a wooden chair, and a rude table in one corner, for the use of the teacher, completed the movable furniture. The walls were roughly plastered and the windows had no curtains.

It was a barren temple of the arts even to the residents of Dry Run, and Harriet and I, stealing across the prairie one Sunday morning to look in, came away vaguely depressed. We were fond of school and never missed a day if we could help it, but this neighborhood center seemed small and bleak and poor.

With what fear, what excitement we approached the door on that first day, I can only faintly indicate. All the scholars were strange to me except Albert and Cyrus Button, and I was prepared for rough treatment. However, the experience was not so harsh as I had feared. True, Rangely Field did throw me down and wash my face in snow, and Jack Sweet tripped me up once or twice, but I bore these indignities with such grace I could command, and soon made a place for myself among the boys.

Burton Babcock was my seat-mate, and at once became my chum. You will hear much of him in this chronicle. He was two years older than I and though pale and slim was unusually swift and strong for his age. He was a silent lad, curiously timid in his classes and not at ease with his teachers.

I cannot recover much of that first winter of school. It was not an experience to remember for its charm. Not one line of grace, not one touch of color relieved the room's bare walls or softened its

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harsh windows. Perhaps this very barrenness gave to the poetry in our readers an appeal that seems magical, certainly it threw over the faces of Frances Babcock and Mary Abbie Gammons a lovelier halo.—They were “the big girls” of the school, that is to say, they were seventeen or eighteen years old,—and Frances was the special terror of the teacher, a pale and studious pigeon-toed young man who was preparing for college.

In spite of the cold, the boys played open air games all winter. “Dog and Deer,” “Dare Gool” and “Fox and Geese” were our favorite diversions, and the wonder is that we did not all die of pneumonia, for we battled so furiously during each recess that we often came in wet with perspiration and coughing so hard that for several minutes recitations were quite impossible.—But we were a hardy lot and none of us seemed the worse for our colds.

There was not much chivalry in the school—quite the contrary, for it was dominated by two or three big rough boys and the rest of us took our tone from them. To protect a girl, to shield her from remark or indignity required a good deal of bravery and few of us were strong enough to do it. Girls were foolish, ridiculous creatures, set apart to be laughed at or preyed upon at will. To shame them was a great joke.—How far I shared in these barbarities I cannot say but that I did share in them I know, for I had very little to do with my sister Harriet after crossing the school-house yard. She kept to her tribe as I to mine.²⁰

PIONEER SCHOOLS IN UTAH

Among other interesting descriptions of pioneer schools in Utah written by territorial superintendents the following have been preserved by Superintendent John C. Moffitt:

On entering the primary department, the basement of the building, it was immediately apparent that ventilation was not neglected, for the school teacher complained that about one-third of the panes of glass were broken; and seeing many pupils without textbooks, on inquiry, the fact was elicited that fifty per cent of those in attendance were destitute of books, nor were charts or

²⁰ Hamlin Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*. By permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers.

other aids brought into requisition to supply this deficiency. Another school, but a few rods distant, was also visited on the same occasion, where evils more grievous were presented. The building was small, poorly lighted and entirely destitute of ventilation. The venerable matron in charge, was not slow to announce that she had seen over sixty summers; the substantial ferule held in her hand demonstrated that she had not been careless in acquiring the means of correction, and suggested the idea that her notions of teaching were not modelled after the generally accepted modern methods. One hundred pupils were committed to her charge, seventy-two of whom were in attendance. The capacity of the room could not conveniently accommodate over forty scholars.—Robert L. Campbell, *Territorial Schools Report*, 1871.

In 1857 the Superintendent visited the southern settlements, (*sic*) he found that log school houses were the rule; these were only chinked, though a few were whitewashed, and mostly furnished with slab seats, some of which had very long legs, doing double duty among the rising and risen generation; and causing many a pair of little legs and feet to dangle in the air. These log school-houses soon gave way to the more comfortable adobie buildings, covered with shingles, and furnished with long seats made of plank with backs to them, and long writing desks around the walls. The best fitted up school house in the Territory in 1857, which was materially in advance of the others, was in the 12th Ward of Salt Lake City. It was built of adobie, had six windows and one door. The ceiling and walls were plastered and whitewashed and the woodwork painted. It was furnished with stationary seats and desks all facing toward the teacher's stand.—O. H. Riggs, *Territorial Schools Report*, 1874–1875.²¹

FORMAL SCHOOLING IN THE NINETIES

There were no frills and little nonsense in our school, or any school that I knew, in those days. We heard much of integrity and hard work, very little of school spirit and the “ideals of youth,” nothing of self-expression. We went to school to work, our playing

²¹ John C. Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah*, published by the author, Provo City, Utah, 1946, pp. 263–264. As quoted from the original documents. Reprinted with the author's permission.

was done elsewhere. Athletics in the afternoons and the gymnasiums on rainy mornings were still on the margin of education, and so matter-of-fact that the captain of our very informal football team, who had glimmerings of how a football captain was to dramatize himself in the heroic age ahead, seemed faintly ridiculous when he shouted with grim fervor, "Hold 'em boys, for old Friends School, *hold 'em!*"

We went to school for facts and got them. Facts about Latin, facts about history, facts about algebra, which gave us a valuable experience in taking intellectual punishment without a quaver. But of education there was very little because, with one exception, none of the teachers were educated. They had knowledge but, not knowing what to do with it, passed it on to us in its raw condition of fact. They knew facts, but could neither relate nor co-ordinate them. They believed in their subjects with the absolute conviction of the baker that his bread is the staff of life, but there was no passion in their belief, and, to tell truth, not much reason. If you learned history, you knew history—whether you became thus historically minded I never heard anyone either in school (or college) inquire. My grandfather's college journal shows that subjects meant just that to him in the eighteen thirties, and probably his grandfather felt likewise. Indeed, since the passionate belief of the Renaissance that the new learning would make new men (as it did) the same confidence has endured, but ever colder and dryer as the subject matter of what was taught less and less stirred men's imaginations. In my day it had become utilitarian, with this qualification, that its utilitarianism beyond the three R's had to be taken for granted, since no one really knew why we studied Latin and advanced mathematics, and even chemistry and physics, or if they knew they never explained. It is true that we never asked for an explanation but were content to believe that declensions, formulas, and new facts in general were the food on which brains grew. Miraculously when one learned them, one became educated.

. . . And so to the boredom of the still realistic school for us who were very young in the nineties, succeeded the romance of a college that had transformed itself into a glamour of beer, songs, cheers, and gaudy nights, mild in actuality beside contemporary possibilities of dissipation, but infinitely more powerful on the imagination. Although the curriculum was even duller and more utilitarian than what we had left in school, life took on a passion

which if only a stucco by comparison with a zeal for intellectual power or esthetic development, was still a passion and particularly viable for youth. And the schools soon followed the colleges into the era of loyalty, strenuosity, and sentiment.²²

HERBERT HOOVER, STANFORD UNIVERSITY FRESHMAN,
1891

I arrived at Menlo Park—there being no station yet at Palo Alto—with my bicycle, satchel and directions from Professor Swain to go to Adelante Villa, where a Miss Fletcher would furnish me board and tutoring.

Miss Fletcher did her best with charm and patience. No one knew how many students would come to the new University. A certain anxiety that there should be enough no doubt helped me in taking those entrance subjects at which I had failed before. And when the crucial day came I got by with all requirements subject to some “conditions,” except that I was one subject short. I earnestly examined the various elective alternatives for a spot where I might attack this final citadel. My association with my doctor uncle stood me in good stead. For by polishing a sound memory and boning all night on two textbooks on physiology, I triumphantly passed in that subject. A Salem boy—Fred Williams—and I moved into Encina Hall, the men’s dormitory, the week before its opening and were proudly its first inhabitants. Also, the Encina dining room gave so many options in food that I was able to declare my complete independence from mush and milk, which under stiff moral pressure had been my major breakfast course ever since I could remember.

The University opened formally on October 1, 1891. It was a great occasion. Senator and Mrs. Stanford were present. The speeches of Senator Stanford and Dr. David Starr Jordan, the first President, make dry reading today but they were mightily impressive to a youngster. Dr. John Branner, who was to preside over the Department of Geology and Mining, had not yet arrived, so with Professor Swain’s guidance I undertook the preparatory

²² Henry S. Canby, *The Age of Confidence, Life in the Nineties*, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1934.

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subjects that would lead into that department later on. Upon Dr. Branner's arrival I came under the spell of a great scientist and a great teacher, whose friendship lasted over his lifetime.

My first need was to provide for myself a way of living. I had the \$210 less Miss Fletcher's services, together with a backlog of some \$600 which had grown from the treasured insurance of my father. The original sum had been safeguarded and modestly increased over the years by the devoted hands of Laurie Tatum. Professor Swain interested himself and secured me a job in the University office at \$5 a week—which was enough of a supplement for a time. Soon after, Dr. Branner tendered me a job in his department because I could operate a typewriter. This increased my income to \$30 a month. While dwelling on earnings I may mention that with two partners I had established a laundry agency and a newspaper route upon the campus, both of which, being sub-let, brought in constant but very small revenue.

The first summer vacation Dr. Branner obtained for me a job as assistant on the Geological Survey of Arkansas where he had been State Geologist. The \$60 a month and expenses seemed like a fortune.²³

AN OBSERVANT ENGLISHMAN EXPRESSES HIS ADMIRATION OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Then there is the school, and I must say that I was overwhelmed with admiration for the American system of education and for the buildings in which it is given. England lags a long way behind here, with its old-fashioned hotch-potch of elementary schools, church schools, "academies for young gentlemen"—the breeding-grounds of snobs—grammar-schools, and private, second-rate colleges; all of which complications are swept away by the clean simplicity of the American state school, to which boys of every class may go without being handicapped by the caste system which is the curse of England. If the school to which I went at Montclair, or another at Elizabeth, New Jersey, or another at Toledo, is at all typical of American schools generally (and I think

²³ *Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: Years of Adventure, 1874–1920*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951, pp. 16–17. Reprinted with the permission of the publisher.

that is so), I take my hat off to the educational authorities of America and to the spirit of the people which inspires them. . . .

At Toledo I saw the best type of provincial school, and certainly as an architectural model it was beyond all words of praise, built in what we call the Tudor style, in red brick, ivy covered, with long oriel windows, so that it lifts up the tone of the whole town because of its dignity and beauty. Here, too, was a fine lecture-hall, easily convertible into a theater, with suitable scenery for any school play. It was a committee of boys who organized the lectures, and one of them acted as my guide over the school-building and showed me, among other educational arrangements, a charming little flat, or apartment-house, completely furnished in every detail in bed-room, sitting-room, and kitchen, for the training of girls in domestic service, cookery, and the decoration of the home. Here, as in many other things, the American mind had reached out to an ideal and linked it up with practical method. Equally good were the workshops where the boys are trained in carpentry and mechanics. . . . Well, all that kind of thing makes for greatness in a nation. The American people are not, I think, better educated than English people in the actual storing-up of knowledge, but they are educated in better physical conditions, with a brighter atmosphere around them in their class-rooms and in their playgrounds, and with a keener appreciation in the social influences surrounding the schoolhouse of the inherent right of every American boy and girl to have equal opportunities along the road to knowledge and success. It is this sense of opportunity, and the entire absence of snob privileges, which I liked best in these glimpses I gained of young America.²⁴

A FIRST GRADE TEACHER EXPERIMENTS WITH A NEW TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING

Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Chairman of the Bank Street Schools, New York City, conducted a workshop for improving instruction in the elementary grades for a period of six years during the 1940's. The excerpt here quoted is an examination paper written by one of the workshop teachers.

²⁴ Philip Gibbs, *People of Destiny, Americans as I Saw Them at Home and Abroad*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920, pp. 73-75.

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EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss how you have used the environment of New York with your class through trips, discussions, and activities in social studies area—geography, history, civics, current events.

2. What trips listed on the mimeographed copy of trips for your school seem to you valuable for your class? Feasible?

3. What units have you had this term? How are they related to curriculum areas?

Answers to be written out of class and put in Bank Street box in office before end of term.

Examination Paper by a Teacher of First Grade

1. Class social studies program centered around home, school, and neighborhood. First trips in neighborhood were taken to find homes of children. During these trips the children were interested in stores, delivery trucks, and transportation facilities that are part of the neighborhood. When the children played "house" in their play corner they usually found it necessary to extend their activities outside the home. They went to the park to give babies an airing. Children were sent to school and to the store for food. The moving van moved the furniture on moving day. They telephoned the stores, coal company, doctor. Father and mother rode to work on the subway. The family went on trips in their auto. A stop was made at the gasoline station. The superintendent cleaned the houses and took care of the furnace. Carpenter was called in to repair the house.

We took a trip to the bakeshop to buy a cake for a Halloween party. The saleswoman told us about the delivery of cake and bread to the various branch stores. The following week we visited a bakeshop that baked on the premise. Because of lack of help we were permitted only to look in from the outside. We bought a loaf of bread. The proprietress gave us some wheat flour, wheat grain, and a growing wheat plant. The children discussed the process of baking—making flour—distribution of flour and bread. They spoke of other foods that need (*sic*) or are baked, e.g., potatoes, apples, pudding, pies, etc. In their play corner they pretended to go through the baking process by mixing flour and water. They discussed the necessity of including cereals and bread in their daily diet.

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Children visited the five and ten to buy candy and decorations for party. They bought paint in a hardware store. They became interested in a scissors-grinding truck. We watched for the truck whenever we walked along Broadway. Children wrote a story about the scissors-grinder and his work. Children were interested in a butcher truck. They asked the delivery man questions about the meat.

We visited Riverside Drive Park to see trains that bring food to the city. We saw boats on the river that are used for war purposes.

We made quite a study of the school. We observed the milk truck bring cans of milk to cafeteria. We saw how coal was delivered to school. We visited nurse's office, principal's office, stockroom, bookroom, library, cafeteria in morning when class 5-1-4 was starting the distribution of milk to classrooms. The children visited boiler room four times because they were interested in furnaces, shoveling of coal, and delivery of coal. Saw doors to cellar on 145th Street.

As a result of the school trips, the class had discussions, dramatic play, rhythmic dramatic play. They played nurse—they shoveled coal in their rhythmic play. They played delivery of coal—shoveling of coal into furnace of school and home, etc. Because of the interest in coal we took a trolley trip to bridge at 145th Street over Harlem River. They saw coal barges, tugboats, trains, coal trucks, derricks. As a result of this trip they made a rather crude derrick, coal truck, barge. They used a blue oilcloth for Harlem River. Of course, there was much discussion about trolley ride, direction, derricks, trains. Children were excited when they saw a coal truck at our school street belonging to the same company as the truck that they had noticed being loaded along the river.

We observed new curb being made along street on our street. Children examined tools in toolbox on street. They observed men using tools. They asked men questions about their work—why a string was used (makes a straight line)—why iron was used at edge of curb. They observed electric drill. There was no keeping them away from classroom window while electric drill was used. One Friday afternoon a steamshovel was scooping up the chopped-up concrete in front of the school. We watched the derrick from the window. Then we went outside to watch the worker in the cab, and the scoop loading the truck. The children played derrick, dis-

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cussed the use of tools, and had fine rhythms as a result of this activity. We will continue observing the repairing of the street when the men resume work after the snow is cleared.

We walked along our school street to watch the snow plows. The children were interested in the clearing of snow. They know that there is a shortage of workers because of the war.

Now they are interested in the distribution of milk. We took a trip to see all the stores that sell milk and milk products. We looked for milk trucks. We interviewed the monitor who delivers milk to our classroom and asked him to explain his job to us. We asked the worker in the cafeteria how much milk was delivered to school for school cafeteria. We know that milk for the cafeteria is delivered in cans because we observed a milk truck bringing milk to school. The custodian's assistant told us how and when the bottles of milk are delivered to school. We hope to observe milk trains and platforms at Riverside Drive. We hope to take a trip to Sheffield's in our neighborhood, if possible. The children are showing interest in trains as a result of the discussion on milk delivery. Riverside Drive will prove of great interest in the study of trains.

2. Trips valuable and feasible:

- School (all trips listed)

- Short walks to see where children's homes are located

- Riverside Park

- Hudson River, 145th Street

- Harlem River, 145th Street Bridge

- Traffic on Broadway

- Trolleys and busses

- Subways and subway station at 145th Street

- Railroad along the Hudson

- Stores (all stores listed)

- Construction and repair in community

- Public Library

- Pushcart market, 145th Street to 140th Street—Eighth Avenue

- George Washington Bridge

3. Units—I called my unit by a broad term, "home-school-neighborhood."

How related to curriculum area.

Health Education

Values of milk, bread, cereals, fruits, vegetables.

Rhythms—were based on trips and experiences—e.g., shoveling coal, using pickax, mixing dough for bread, trains, snowballs, etc.

Reading

Charts—experience charts based on trips and class discussions (Children increased reading vocabulary).

Language

Children told sounds they heard on trips, e.g., sound a coal truck makes, electric drill, shoemaker store, coal furnace, scissors-grinder truck, coal sliding down chute, derricks, steam-shovels, boat whistles, trolley-car—coins dropping into coin machine on trolley-car, wind, automobiles on snow, milk bottles.

Children wrote class stories on trips. Discussion after trip and before work periods. Dramatization—dramatic play.

Literature

Stories read to class, e.g.

“Biting Marion” from *Streets*—Co-operative School Pamphlet—John Day.

“Silly Will” from *Here and Now Story Book*—L. S. Mitchell—E. P. Dutton, Inc.

“Poppy Seed Cakes”—Margery Clark—Doubleday & Co., Inc.

Arts

Painting—drawing—clay

Almost every child has painted or drawn pictures of experiences and trips. We have pictures of school, boiler room, coal trucks, boats, shoemaker, scissors-grinder, milk wagons, trains, moving van, derricks, barges, workers repairing street.

Carpentry—coal truck—constructing milk wagon.

Clay—modeled clay coal.

Science

Planted wheat grain.

Mixed flour and water. What foods does mother bake?

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Learned direction when taking trip over Harlem River—
crosstown trolley travels east and west. Sun rises in
east (shines in room in morning).

Watched repairing of street.

Learned contents of concrete.

Made crude toy derrick for play.

Saw and studied bridge over Harlem River.

Where do snow and rain go? Sewers—evaporation.

Penmanship

Wrote outstanding words in unit:

BAKE, MILK, TRUCK, COAL, SCHOOL, BOAT,
SCOOP, etc.

Some children wrote simple stories.

Numbers

Measured quart—how many glasses in a quart.

Read names of streets—number of staircase in school
(e.g., stair 6).

Count materials—measure materials.

Compare sizes, e.g., tugboat—barge.²⁵

☆ FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Suggested topics for class papers: (a) old-time schoolbooks; (b) the district school as a factor in American education; (c) school architecture in the days of Henry Barnard; (d) old-time methods of teaching the three R's; (e) school discipline.
2. Consult the memoirs of some statesman for the details of his school life.
3. Collect descriptions of school life similar to those written by Mark Sullivan, Hamlin Garland, Henry S. Canby, and William Lyon Phelps.
4. Prepare a similar collection using other sources.
5. Collect pictures of old-time schools.

☆ SELECTED REFERENCES

The student who wishes supplementary reading on this subject is referred to:

1. The thirty-three volumes of the *American Journal of Education* edited by Henry Barnard and files of such educational journals as the *Annals of American Education* for the earlier period and the *Educational Review* for the later.
2. Biographies and autobiographies of distinguished Americans.

²⁵ Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Our Children and Our Schools*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1950. Appendix 17, pp. 472–476. Reprinted by permission of the author and Simon and Schuster, Publishers. Copyright, 1950, by Lucy Sprague Mitchell.

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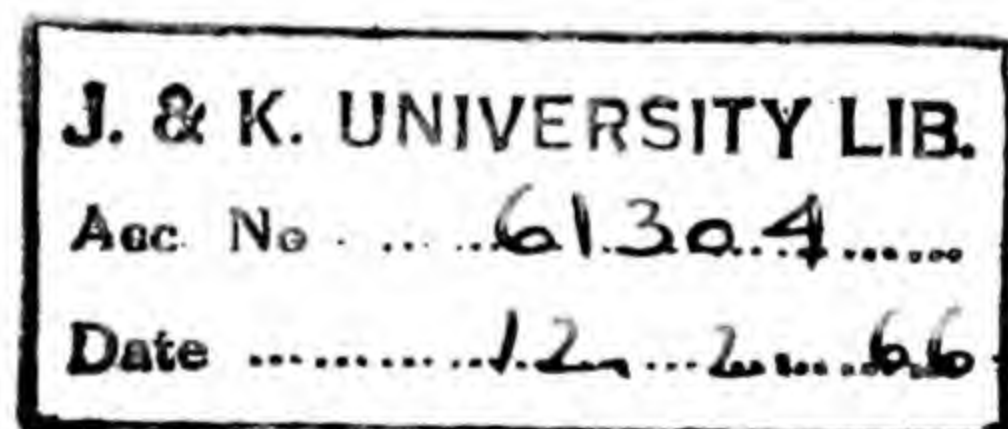
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